THE OLD ENGLISH VERSION OF BEDE'S *HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA*

Sharon M. Rowley

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Preface and Acknowledgements

This book grew out of a project that I began during a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar at the Parker Library, Cambridge, in 1997, directed by Paul E. Szarmach and Timothy Graham. As I researched what I thought would be a chapter on the Old English version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* to add to my dissertation on 'Reading Miracles in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*', I realized not only how rich the manuscripts are, but also the extent to which study of the translation has been overshadowed by study of its source, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. So this became a project of its own. Because editions have minimized the differences between the Old English and the Latin, scholars have treated the Old English version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as if it were somehow still identical to the Latin. By returning to the material texts to study translation as transformation, and to examine the cultural and historical implications of the differences between the two texts, this study fills a substantial gap in our understanding of the transmission and reception of both Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *OEHE*. Combining an examination of the manuscript texts with a theoretically informed sense of their historical, literary and cultural contexts, this study not only analyzes traditional textual questions of variance, transmission and transformation, but also seeks to explore larger questions about the sociology of the text, the role and function of translation, and the uses of the vernacular in medieval English culture.

Several chapters of the present work have been presented in preliminary form elsewhere. The core of Chapter 2, under the title 'Uncertain Origins and Inconsistent Styles: Some Interpretative Dilemmas in the Old English Bede', was presented at the research workshop of the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, Cambridge University, 30 May 2008. I presented a preliminary version of Chapter 3 at the 34th meeting of the Southeastern Medieval Association, St. Louis University, October 2008 and at the 44th ICMS, Western Michigan University, May 2009. I would like to thank George Molyneaux for discussing these issues with me, and for his corroboration of some of the numbers. Working independently, Molyneaux and I reached similar conclusions about the role of the *OEHE* in relation to notions of English ideology; see George Molyneaux, 'The Old English Bede: English Ideology or Christian Instruction?', *English Historical Review* 124 no. 511 (2009), 1289–1323. I presented a preliminary version of the first part of Chapter 4 as 'The Fall of Britain and English Identity in the Old English Bede', at the 37th ICMS, Kalamazoo, MI, May 2002, special 20th anniversary session

sponsored by Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture. Part of an earlier version of my discussion of the Easter controversy was published as 'Translating History: The Paschal Controversy in the Old English Bede', in *Bède le vénérable entre tradition et postérité*, ed. Stéphane Lebecq, Michel Perrin and Olivier Szerwiniack, Université Charles de Gaulle, Centre d'Histoire de l'Europe du Nord-Ouest 34, 2005, pp. 297–308. I also presented a version of this at 'Bède le vénérable: bilan et perspectives', Université de Picardie Jules Verne, Amiens and Université de Lille, 3–5 July, 2002. Parts of Chapter 8 were originally presented at the International Society for Anglo-Saxon Studies, Munich, 2005, the Southeastern Medieval Association, Oxford, MS, 2006, and part of it was also presented at the Manuscripts of Bede AMARC (Association for Manuscripts and Archives in Research Collections) meeting, Durham University, August 2008. I would like to thank Roy Liuzza, Gregory Waite, Winfried Rudolf, Calvin Kendall, Benjamin Albritton and Susan L'Engle for their comments on and help with this chapter. All errors, of course, are my own. A version of the section on glossing in T and Ca was published as S. M. Rowley, 'The Fourteenth-Century Glosses and Annotations in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Tanner 10', *Manuscripta* 53.1 (2009), 49–85.

It is a pleasure and honor to acknowledge and thank the many exceedingly generous scholars, friends, teachers and mentors who have helped me learn and write, as well as the libraries and funding agencies that have provided the access to resources and funding necessary to bring this book to publication. The aforementioned National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar provided a rigorous and lively intellectual atmosphere in which I conceived this study. I cannot thank Paul Szarmach and Tim Graham enough for their invaluable and generous guidance along the way. But my debts and gratitude go much further back. Starting with my studies at Temple University and continuing through my years at the University of Chicago, Ann E. Matonis, Christina von Nolcken, David Bevington, Leslie T. Woodward, Susan M. Kim and Susan Seitner have generously helped me learn, fostered my scholarship and kept me on track. Roy Michael Liuzza has also been an inspiration, friend and mentor to me for a long time now; without his own scholarship, feedback and generous editing, this book would be a pale shadow of itself. George Hardin Brown has also been astonishingly generous, making not only his own work, deep knowledge and sharp eyes available to me, but also his copy of John Smith's 1722 edition of the *OEHE*.

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Latin Glosses and Annotations in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Tanner 10', *Manuscripta* 53.1 (June 2009), 49–85.

Finally, my family has been a tremendous support and inspiration to me throughout this entire process. Morally and emotionally, during the many comings and goings associated with this research, Barbara, Charles, Shawn, Stephanie, Eric, Alex and Simon have all been incredibly important and helpful to me. Thank you all!

Abbreviations

ASC	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition* ed. D. N. Dumville, Simon Keynes, and Simon Taylor (Cambridge, 1983)
Budny	M. Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1997)
DOEC	*Dictionary of Old English Corpus*
Gneuss	H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 241 (Tempe, AZ, 2001)
HE, *Historia Ecclesiastica*	*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969, rpt. 1992)
Ker	N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957)
OE	Old English
OEHE	*Old English Version of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Thomas Miller, Early English Text Society, OS 95, 96, 110, 111 (Rochester and London, 1890–8; rpt. Cambridge, 2003)

MANUSCRIPT SIGLA
(MANUSCRIPTS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE *OEHE*)

B	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 41, s.xi^{1}. Ker 32; Gneuss 39, Budny 32.
C	London, British Library, Cotton Otho B.XI, s.x^{med}.-s.xi^{1}. Ker 180, Gneuss 357.
Ca	Cambridge, University Library, Kk 3.18, s.xi^{2}. Ker 23, Gneuss 22.
N	London, British Library, Additional 43703, 1542, transcription of C made by Laurence Nowell.
O	Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279B, s. xi^{in}. Ker 354, Gneuss 673.
T	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 10, s. x^{1}. Ker 351, Gneuss 668.
Zu	London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.IX, folio 11, *c.* 890 x *c.* 930/s. ix^{ex} (after 883) or x^{in}. Ker 151, Gneuss 330.

This book is dedicated to the memory of my father

Introduction

Bede and his Historia Ecclesiastica

Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (731) is one of our primary sources of information about the settlement and conversion of Anglo-Saxon England.[1] Bede (673–735) was a monk of Wearmouth-Jarrow in Northumbria. According to the short account of his life that he includes at the end of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, his kinsmen gave him into the care of the monastery at the age of seven.[2] He lived the life of a scholar monk, devoting himself to learning, teaching and writing. In addition to the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which M. L. W. Laistner describes as 'the supreme example of Bede's genius', Bede also wrote textbooks on natural history and the calculation of Easter, a history of the abbots of Wearmouth-Jarrow, homilies, and an extensive collection of exegetical works.[3] According to Sir Frank Stenton, Bede's greatness as a historian derives from his ability to coordinate 'fragments of information' from many sources, so that, 'in an age when little was attempted beyond the registration of fact, [Bede] had reached the conception of history'.[4] Dorothy Whitelock summarizes Bede's contributions to historical writing, observing that his 'historical work has been read continuously ever since it was written, and it has formed a model for later writers'.[5] Bede's groundbreaking emphases on chronology and evidence helped shape the historiography of the Western world. Because the *Historia Ecclesiastica* gave a coherent narrative structure to the origins of Christian England, it also played a foundational role in the construction of English national identity.

1 See George Hardin Brown, *Bede, the Venerable*, Twayne's English Authors Series 443 (Boston, 1987) and *A Companion to Bede* (Woodbridge, 2009); *Bede: His Life, Times, and Writings: Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of his Death*, ed. A. H. Thompson (London, 1935); *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Gerald Bonner (London, 1976); *Beda Venerabilis: Historian, Monk, Northumbrian*, Mediaevalia Groningana 19, ed. L. A. J. R. Houwen and A. A. MacDonald (Groningen, 1996); *Bede and his World: The Jarrow Lectures 1958–1993*, 2 vols., ed. Michael Lapidge (Cambridge, 1994); and *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge, 2010).

2 *HE* V.24, pp. 566–71.

3 M. L. W. Laistner, *The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1957), p. 99; Peter Hunter Blair quotes Laistner in 'Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* and its Importance Today', *Bede and his World*, ed. Lapidge, I, p. 21.

4 Sir Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1971), p. 187.

5 Dorothy Whitelock, 'After Bede', in *Bede and his World*, ed. Lapidge, I, pp. 37–49, at p. 37.; see also 'The Old English Bede', Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, 1962, reprinted in *British Academy Papers on Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. E. G. Stanley (Oxford, 1990), pp. 227–61.

The Old English translation of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica

The *OEHE* was made anonymously some time at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century.[6] It has long been associated with either King Alfred's late-ninth-century program of translation and education, or an earlier school of Mercian translation; this study questions both of those theories. As I discuss in detail in Chapter 1, the paleographical window for the earliest manuscript evidence of the *OEHE* is between *c.* 883 and 930. The translation as we have it is the work of one main translator, but part of Book III and the lists of chapter headings were translated by two others.[7] We have no external documentary evidence about any of these three translators. That being said, the act of translating Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* around the turn of the tenth century both demonstrates the continued importance of the text in later Anglo-Saxon England, and increases that importance by making the work available to wider vernacular audiences in England.[8] Although the original copy, or archetype, of the translation has been lost, we have long known that the *OEHE* was based on a manuscript of the C-type of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[9] Michael Lapidge has recently narrowed this to the branch of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* that descended from a copy given to Abbot Albinus of Canterbury.[10] Although both this exemplar and the original copy of the translation were lost, two manuscripts of, and three excerpts from, the *OEHE* survive from the tenth century.[11] Because this is a century from which no copies of the Latin original survive in England, the existence of three copies of the *OEHE* – an admittedly small number – suggests the possibility that the *OEHE* not only widened Bede's audience, but played a role in the survival and dissemination of the text in England in the tenth century. We also know that the *OEHE* was used by clerics, such as Ælfric of Eynsham, and laymen, such as Æthelweard, in the composition of his *Chronicon* in later Anglo-Saxon England.[12]

[6] *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Thomas Miller, Early English Text Society, os 95, 96, 110, 111 (Rochester and London, 1890–8, rpt. Cambridge, 2003).

[7] See Chapter 1.

[8] Although Latin literacy was certainly wider on the Continent, the situation in England differed; there is significantly more evidence for the use of the vernacular in England from the ninth century on. See Susan Kelly, 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 36–62; George Hardin Brown, 'Latin Writing and the Old English Vernacular', in *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. Ursula Schaefer, ScriptOralia 53 (Tübingen, 1993), pp. 36–57; and George Hardin Brown, 'The Dynamics of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 77.1 (1995), 109–42.

[9] *Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum: Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. Charles Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896), I, pp. cxxviiii–cxxix.

[10] Michael Lapidge, 'The Latin Exemplar of the Old English Bede', in *Un tuo serto di fiori in man recando: scritti in onore di Maria Amalia d'Aronco*, ed. Patrizia Lendinara, 2 vols. (Udine, 2008), II, pp. 235–46, esp. pp. 242–3. See also Miller, *OEHE*, and Colgrave and Mynors, *HE*.

[11] See Miller's introduction in *OEHE*, and S. M. Rowley, 'Nostalgia and the Rhetoric of Lack: The Missing Old English Bede Exemplar for Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms 41', in *Old English Literature in Its Manuscript Contexts*, ed. Joyce Tally Lionarons (Morgantown, 2004), pp. 11–35.

[12] One Latin manuscript that may survive from the tenth century is Winchester 1. Ælfric's homily

Through translation and abbreviation, Bede's Old English translators transformed their base text significantly. Although scholars have long been aware of the basic differences between the texts, these differences have been insufficiently studied. This is primarily because editors have treated these differences as errors, and intervened to minimize or erase them, producing an edited text more like Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* than the *OEHE* really is. Dorothy Whitelock's assessment exemplifies the scholarly attitude toward the differences among the texts. Although she studied the *OEHE* in tremendous detail, Whitelock read the changes and omissions as reflecting 'the great decline of scholarship since the days of Bede'.[13] She states that 'Bede's attitude toward evidence has sometimes been described as modern; it lay outside the conception of the translator. Just as he is inferior to Bede, so are those for whom he is writing inferior to the readers Bede had in mind.'[14] Whitelock specifically targets the main translator's choice to omit much of Bede's chronology, along with the other attributes of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* that led her and many others, including Lapidge, to praise Bede's own attitude toward history as almost scientific.[15]

Aspects of the *OEHE* have also been praised: Donald Fry finds Bede 'fortunate in his translator', while Stanley Greenfield finds that the translator has 'something of a poetic turn of mind, exhibited in a vocabulary rich in poetic diction, in metaphoric creativity . . . and in a poetic sense of economy that nevertheless renders the Latin closely and faithfully, with little extraneous matter'.[16] Despite the reservations I cite above, Whitelock commends the main translator's consistent, careful editing of his base text. Raymond St. Jacques's response is also mixed. On the one hand, he argues that the translator is a master of prose narrative, but, on the other, he argues that the translator does not understand Bede's vision of history, that he consequently 'betrays' his original.[17] Such contradictory assessments of the translator's skills and knowledge suggest that the *OEHE* and its translators require reassessment. One of the main objectives of this study is to set aside aesthetic and qualitative

on Gregory the Great mentions the *OEHE*, Homily IX, 'IIII Idus Martii, Sancti Gregorii Pape, Urbis Romane Inclitus': *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, ed. M. Godden, Early English Text Society, ss 5 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 72–80. For Æthelweard's use of the *OEHE* in his *Chronicon*, see *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell (London, 1962); M. Winterbottom, 'The Style of Æthelweard', *Medium Ævum* 36 (1967), 109–18; and Angelika Lutz, 'Æthelweard's Chronicon and Old English Poetry', *Anglo-Saxon England* 29 (2000), 177–214. See also Audrey L. Meaney, 'St. Neots, Æthelweard and the Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Survey', in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1986), pp. 193–243; D. R. Howlett, 'The Verse of Æthelweard's *Chronicle*', *Bulletin Du Cange* 58 (2000), 219–24.

13 Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', p. 244.

14 Ibid., p. 245.

15 Michael Lapidge, 'Stoic Cosmology and the Source of the First Old English Riddle', *Anglia* 112 (1994), 1–25, at p. 1.

16 Donald K. Fry, 'Bede Fortunate in his Translators: The Barking Nuns', in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1986), pp. 345–62, at p. 345; Stanley B. Greenfield, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York, 1986), p. 58 (also quoted by Fry).

17 Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', 236; Raymond C. St-Jacques, '"Hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgiete"? Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and its Old English Translator', *Florilegium* 5 (1983), 85–104.

judgments, and to explore the impact the omissions and alterations have on the narrative logic of the text and the shape of history it represents.

The charts in Appendix I summarize the omissions and alterations in the *OEHE* chapter by chapter.[18] To highlight the key differences here: Bede's main Old English translator shortens Bede's descriptions of England and Ireland, then cuts most of the Roman history and details of the Easter controversy. He entirely reshapes Bede's account of the fall of Britain by eliminating Bede's detailed account of the Pelagian heresy and St. Germanus's battle against it. He also cuts or radically condenses all of the papal correspondence, and moves Gregory the Great's *Libellus Responsionum* from Book I to a place after the end of Book III. He rearranges many chapter divisions and omits entirely Bede's excerpts from Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* and Bede's final annalistic recapitulation of English history. Accidental losses and later interventions have caused some of the manuscript texts to differ even more from Bede's Latin, as well as from each other.

In all, the *OEHE* abridges its source by about a third. Although this has led to some negative assessments like those quoted above, Bede's main translator worked to reshape rather than merely abridge his source. Although Whitelock identified the first general principle of abridgement as the omission of 'most of the letters, documents, epitaphs and poems',[19] even a brief examination shows that he does not treat all of these documents the same way. Each must be re-examined on a case-by-case basis. At this point, I should stress that analyzing omissions is by nature a difficult business. I do not, however, work from negative evidence. Rather, I begin by developing an argument based on how Bede's representation of a particular issue or event generates meaning within Bede's historiography, as well as in relation to Bede's historical position in early-eighth-century Jarrow. I contextualize the differences found in the *OEHE* in relation to what we know about the historical position of Bede's translator, and analyze the meaning and structure of the abbreviated or altered sections in the *OEHE*, paying careful attention to language, textual and rhetorical strategies.

Although Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* presents what has become the 'master narrative' of early England, what becomes clear a few pages into Book I of the *OEHE* is that the vernacular version presents an account of English history that differs in crucial ways from Bede's; it does not engage the narrative precisely as Bede lays it out. While some of the changes wrought by the translators might appear minor at first glance, the differences – such as the omission of most papal letters and deletion of Bede's account of the Pelagian heresy – accumulate to produce a significant impact on the symbolic and narrative logic of the text: they decenter Roman authority, revise Bede's famous symbolism of salvation history, and present a reading of the Viking invasions that differs from that of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and other tenth

[18] I first presented a version of these comparative charts as a part of 'The Fall of Britain and English Identity in the Old English Bede', at the 37th ICMS, Kalamazoo, MI, May 2002.

[19] Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', p. 232.

and eleventh-century texts. Sounding out these differences allows for new thought about the ways in which the later Anglo-Saxons appropriated the past, translating history – like the bones of their native saints Oswald and Wilfrid – into new political and cultural contexts.

This Study

Despite over a century of linguistic, paleographical and stylistic analysis, the questions that persist across this history of *OEHE* scholarship remain utterly basic: who translated the *OEHE*? When? And why? Unless further documentary evidence comes to light, scholars of the *OEHE* must work with the large window of *c.* 883 x 930, and with the uncertainty as to the exact identity of the translators. Post-colonial and post-structural approaches, teamed with the new cultural history, provide ways to rethink some of these uncertainties, and to escape the binary that pits Alfred's school against a Mercian one, because they question grand historical narratives and challenge the 'seeming naturalness of the "truth" [as] an effect of accumulating acts of power'.[20] As Julia Smith puts it, new cultural history focuses on 'transformations, continuities, innovations and permutations' rather than the pattern of rise, fall and stagnation; it does so by incorporating a wider sense of the concept of culture, combined with a careful attention to language and a critical attitude toward 'the uncertain relationship between texts and the historical reality'.[21]

Rather than treating this relationship as one of epistemological 'uncertainty', I treat it as one of representation and narration. Analyzing the differences between the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *OEHE* through the lenses of Walter Benjamin and Jacques Derrida's ideas about translation as transformation, as well as Paul Ricoeur's notions of textuality and reading, exposes the ways in which both histories engage textual and rhetorical strategies in the service of representing history; in this case, in the service of representing and transforming salvation history, placing and re-placing Britain in the context of prophetic history and the early-medieval understanding of the universal Christian mission. The omissions and alterations in the *OEHE* engage dynamics of presence and absence throughout the text; when examined in the context of external historical evidence this dynamic reveals the strategies by which Bede constructs his reading of history – and, accordingly, the ways in which his anonymous translators revise those structures. As a result, studying the ways in which the *OEHE* transforms its source reveals what the translation can tell us, not only about the *OEHE* in its cultural and historical contexts, but also about the reception of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* in later Anglo-Saxon England.

Examining the ways in which *OEHE* reshapes its source brings the question of what Walter Benjamin calls the 'task' of the translator to the fore. As some

[20] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Introduction' to *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, The New Middle Ages, ed. J. J. Cohen (New York, 2000), pp. 1–17, at p. 6.

[21] Julia Smith, *Europe After Rome: A New Cultural History* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 6–7.

of the assessments of the *OEHE* quoted above demonstrate, it is safe to say that the main translator of the *OEHE* has a mixed reputation when it comes to the question of translation. However, given the transmission of sophisticated thought and learning about translation, grammar and rhetoric from the late-antique period through the early Middle Ages and into Anglo-Saxon England, as Rita Copeland, Robert Stanton, and Martin Irvine demonstrate, the cultural and intellectual contexts of the *OEHE* suggest that there is more going on in the apparent gap between the main translator's acknowledged precision with Latin and the allegations of his incompetence at the level of historical sense.[22] Gregory Waite describes the Old English translator's strategies with linguistic and grammatical specificity. He points out that 'throughout there is a tendency to rearrange hypotactic Latin constructions into paratactic Old English equivalents and to reform participial or absolute constructions into coordinate clauses'. Sometimes his 'close imitation of the Latin at times gives rise to "incorrect" OE usage of case and even gender'. Although the translator tends toward etymological translations and calques, he also draws on formations found in the early English glossing tradition, and often uses doublings to add meaning, as well as for stylistic and rhetorical effect. As a result, Waite cautions that 'it is misleading to play up the problems of the translation, and to ignore those passages where control and rhetorical manipulation are in evidence'.[23] Waite concludes that

> the technique of translation is to a large degree deliberate, and that the literal style and artificial vocabulary are . . . purposefully juxtaposed with certain native English rhetorical features, such as the use of alliteration, amplification through doublings, and creative compounding. It is perhaps a curious mix, but one created by design, nevertheless.[24]

This complex combination of translation strategies goes beyond the famous 'word for word/sense by sense' formula used by both Bede and King Alfred.

Exploring the use and manipulation of this formula in early England reveals complex and self-conscious attitudes toward translation already in play, and gives us a better sense of the culture of translation in which Bede's Old English translators may have been working. Curiously, one of the main *OEHE* translator's striking excisions is his removal of Bede's phrasing of the formula from his translation of the Cædmon episode. In the Latin original, 'This is the sense', Bede tells us, 'but not the order of the words which he sang as he slept. For it is not possible to translate verse, however well composed, literally from one language to another without damage to sound and sense.'[25]

22 Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 11 (Cambridge, 1991); Robert Stanton, *The Culture of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2002); Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350–1100*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 19 (Cambridge, 1994).

23 Gregory Waite, 'The Vocabulary of the Old English Version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*', Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Toronto, 1985. DAI 46A (1985), p. 17, pdf version.

24 Ibid., p. 132.

25 'Hic est sensus non autem ordo ipse uerborum, quae dormiens ille canebat; neque enim possunt carmina, quamuis optime conposita, ex alia in aliam linguam ad uerbum sine detrimento sui

Although the *OEHE* omits this passage, other writers in late-ninth-century England were well aware of the sense/word formula. The *locus classicus* for the phrasing is, of course, Cicero's *De Optimo Genere Oratorum*: 'non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne verborum vimque servavi' [I did not hold it necessary to render word for word, but I preserved the general style and force of the language].[26] Although he might have been familiar with Bede's version from the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, King Alfred uses the phrasing 'hwilum word be worde, hwilum angit of andgiete' ('sometimes word by word, sometimes meaning by meaning') in his *Preface* to Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. As Robert Stanton points out, Alfred's phrasing is a 'waffling combination of the two terms'.[27] Stanton asserts that 'we should understand this key phrase alongside the following clause [of the *Preface*], "just as I learned from Plegmund my archbishop" ... Alfred translated the book in just the way he learned it from his collaborators'.[28] Alfred's use of this phrasing demonstrates awareness of a phrasing of the paradox closer to the classical phrasing than Bede's. Stanton speculates that Alfred's phrasing derives from Jerome's preface to the Vulgate, or the writings of Gregory the Great, which gives us multiple avenues of possible transmission of the formula into and around Anglo-Saxon England.[29]

As Rita Copeland demonstrates, Jerome and the others who helped transmit this formula into the Middle Ages were already actively misquoting and manipulating it, even as they theorized about the act of translation in relation to sacred texts.[30] If the ease with which Bede adapts the sense/word phrasing to justify his own decisions as a translator, and if Alfred's 'waffling' formulation of it is, as he himself suggests, what he was taught, then one thing that becomes clear is that the question of this paradox and the task of translation were self-consciously in play in Anglo-Saxon England. If, as Stanton suggests, part of Alfred's active construction of himself as king involves 'reinventing eloquence and authority in an English context',[31] then any naive assumption about the transparency of translation in Anglo-Saxon England must be set aside. Emphasis on the cultural aspects of vernacularity, and demonstration of the interplay between the acts of reading, interpretation and translation in the Middle Ages can help us move beyond the sense/word dilemma in relation to the *OEHE*. As I discuss below, the *OEHE* reflects, to borrow Clem Robyns words, translation as a confrontation with 'alien elements', as well as the intrusion of the alien elements into the target language.[32] However, the

decoris ac dignitatis transferri' (trans. Bertram Colgrave, as emended by Andre Crépin). *HE* IV.24, p. 417; emendation from J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People': A Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1988, 1993).

26 Quoted by Copeland, *Rhetoric*, p. 33.

27 Stanton, *Culture*, p. 82.

28 Ibid., p. 83. For the text of Alfred's *Preface* to Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, see Henry Sweet, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader*, rev. Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford, 1967, rpt. 1979), pp. 346–55.

29 Stanton, *Culture*, p. 82.

30 Copeland, *Rhetoric*, pp. 50–5.

31 Stanton, *Culture*, p. 84.

32 Clem Robyns, 'Translation and Discursive Identity', *Poetics Today* 15:3 (1994), 405–28, at p. 407.

dynamics of confrontation and intrusion need not inevitably (or only) lead to betrayal; in fact, the translator's use of Latinate and artificial word forms may have made the text more accessible to readers across time. As Waite has recently pointed out, the manuscript texts of the *OEHE* 'retain . . . a great deal of [lexical and dialectal] integrity because of the transportability of the artificial vocabulary which the translator balanced against Anglian idiom'.[33]

The scholars who have come to mixed conclusions about the quality of *OEHE* as a translation have been working within traditional linguistic, rhetorical and formal frameworks – and wrestling with the problem of these issues in relation to translating history. Each provides valuable insight into the *OEHE*, yet each comes to a slightly contradictory set of assertions about the main translator's skills and knowledge. It is worth noting that these contradictions are reminiscent of the charges leveled against Bede himself prior to the practice of cultural studies: Bede was, at one time, both praised for his nearly modern sense of historical evidence, and roundly condemned for his inclusion of miracles in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Scholarly awareness of Bede's cultural, historiographical and ecclesiastical milieu, however, have gone a long way toward a more nuanced understanding of that text.

Contemporary thought about the ways in which histories operate as narratives in language, in conjunction with the consciousness that language is embedded in, and reflective of, culture, has allowed scholarship on Bede's work to move away from the superficial dichotomy of truth versus fiction.[34] This shift has been especially fruitful in helping readers understand his narrative strategies, such as the embedding of exegetical structures and the reporting of miracles.[35] The Old English translation, in turn, raises multiple questions about reading, interpreting and translating history that I believe can be usefully addressed by thinking less about translation as a reductive or repetitive act and more about the generative capacity of language, arising from the recognition that language always already involves substitution. As Roman Jakobson points out, 'for the linguist, like for the ordinary language user, the meaning of a word is nothing but its translation by another sign which can be substituted for it'.[36] If translation is inherent in the very nature

33 Gregory Waite, 'Revisiting the Old English Bede', Oxford University Medieval English Seminar, 26 May 2010, p. 21.

34 Paul Veyne, *Writing History: Essay on Epistemology*, trans. Mina Moore-Rinvolucri (Middletown, CT, 1984); Dominick LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Context, Language* (Ithaca, 1983). In relation to Bede specifically, see S. M. Rowley, 'Reassessing Exegetical Interpretations of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*', *Literature and Theology* 17.3 (2003), 227–43; Jan Davidse, 'On Bede as Christian Historian', in *Beda Venerabilis*, ed. Houwen and MacDonald, pp. 1–15; and Jean-Michel Picard, 'Bede, Adomnán, and the Writing of History', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 50–70.

35 See Roger Ray, 'Bede's Vera Lex Historiae', *Speculum* 55.1 (1980), 1–21, an essay in which Ray rethinks his earlier position, as articulated in 'Bede, the Exegete, as Historian', in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Gerald Bonner (London, 1976), pp. 125–40; Jennifer O'Reilly, 'The Library of Scripture: Views from Vivarium and Wearmouth-Jarrow', in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures. Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, ed. Paul Binski and Will Noel (Stroud, 2001), pp. 3–39.

36 Roman Jakobson, *Essais de linguistique générale* (Paris, 1963), p. 79, trans. Eve Tavor Bannet, 'The Scene of Translation: After Jakobson, Benjamin, de Man, and Derrida', *New Literary History* 24.3 (1993), 577–95, at p. 579.

of language, speaking and reading reveal, as Paul Ricoeur puts it, 'in the very constitution of the text, an original capacity for renewal'.[37] Recognizing this inherent generative capacity allows us to think about translation as a highly marked example of interpretation, that is, an act of negotiating cultural, temporal and discursive differences between languages and over time.

The choices involved in translating Bede's Latin into Old English not only manifest themselves in somewhat artificial constructions, but also, more positively, as a form of interpretation reflective of the ways in which language and sense can be renewed, creating meaning beyond and into new contexts. Jacques Derrida's essay 'Des tours de Babel', which presents a reading of Benjamin's essay 'The Task of the Translator', discusses the ways in which a translation adds to its source rather than simply transliterating it. For Derrida, translation is 'neither an image nor a copy';[38] it 'adjoins by adding', becoming a 'marriage contract with the promise to produce a child whose seed will give rise to history and growth'.[39] Source and translation remain separate, and yet touch at the point of the adequation of language. The question of 'adequation' is directly relevant to the *OEHE*, which sometimes struggles to render Bede's Latin. Henry Sweet and Frederick Klaeber described the words of the *OEHE* as 'unnatural' and thought that the translation itself reflects the 'infancy' of Old English prose.[40] Waite's analysis also reveals the *OEHE*'s occasional use of incorrect grammatical cases and unidiomatic syntax in the process of attempting to move between one language and another, or as Ricoeur puts it, to make 'one's own what was initially alien'.[41]

It may be appropriate to point out here that the Old English word for translator, *wealhstod*, reiterates the degree to which the ideas of otherness and confrontation inhere in Old English as a language. The elements of the compound are revealing: whether the *wealh* is the Briton, the slave or the generic foreigner, and whether the one who *stands* does so as opponent or representative, the word evokes the dynamics of confrontation that form the conditions for translation.[42] 'Standing for' the 'other' in relation to language requires that other at the same time it evokes a problematic assertion of cultural dominance. For Bede's Old English translators to be in the position of the *wealhstod* reveals both the problem and the solution. Although Latin becomes the language of ecclesiastical discourse in Anglo-Saxon England, several languages co-existed in early England producing, and being produced by, contact and difference in ways that become increasingly marked by status.

[37] Ricoeur, 'What is a Text?', in *Reflection and Imagination: A Ricoeur Reader*, ed. Mario J. Valdés (Toronto, 1991), p. 57.

[38] Jacques Derrida, 'Des tours de Babel', trans. in *Difference in Translation*, ed. Joseph F. Graham (Ithaca, 1985), pp. 165–207, at p. 180.

[39] Ibid. pp. 189 and 191

[40] Quoted in Frederick Klaeber, 'Notes on the Alfredian Version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 14, Appendices I and II (1899), lxxii–lxxiii, at p. lxxii.

[41] Ricoeur, 'What is a Text?', pp. 57–8.

[42] Margaret Lindsay Faull, 'The Semantic Development of Old English *Wealh*', *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 8 (1975), 20–44, at p. 20. See also Huw Pryce, 'British or Welsh? National Identity in Twelfth-Century Wales', *English Historical Review* 116, no. 468 (2001), 775–801.

The purpose of this book is to explore the ways in which Bede's translators interpreted and transformed the text of the most important work of early-medieval English history, and how later readers and annotators continued this process of interpretation and transformation. I examine Bede and his translators' concern with issues such as conversion, heresies, miracles, and the calculation of Easter in their broader cultural and historical contexts in order to better understand the ways in which each of these texts represent, reflect and refract the realities of their historical moments. Bringing source and translation together begins to historicize Bede's account by calling attention to the constructed nature of historical narrative and by bringing to the foreground the problems of sources and translation. Similarly, historicizing the place of Latin as a language in conversion-period England allows one to read the *OEHE* as adjoined to its source. As such, it negotiates cultural, temporal and discursive differences between languages and over time, bridging the gaps between early and later Anglo-Saxon England and telling us more about history, the *OEHE* and Bede's *Historia*.

Working within this larger theoretical framework, which I develop chapter by chapter, my methodology is to seek answers to large questions through a close attention to the details of the text in its material contexts. Combining contemporary thought about history and translation with traditional paleography and philology, I analyze variations and notations in the manuscripts to recover the cultural contexts, the history of scholarship and the ideas of national identity that were read in, and written onto, the *OEHE*. Rather than treating the *OEHE* as the inferior shadow of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I interrogate the texts from a material, cultural and literary perspective, demonstrating that the *OEHE* manuscripts were highly valued vernacular resources used for reading, preaching and transmitting historical and ecclesiastical knowledge in England throughout the medieval period. By looking at the material texts in their historical contexts, carefully considering the ways in which the anonymous translators recast the narrative and thematic structures of Bede's Latin work, and interrogating later uses of the text, this book challenges longstanding critical misconceptions about the *OEHE*, and provides new ways for thinking about the transmission and reception of it, and Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* in later Anglo-Saxon England.

Chapter 1, 'Manuscripts and Editions', provides descriptions of the surviving manuscripts of the *OEHE*, as well as what we know about their medieval provenance, transmission and circulation. It also presents an overview of the complete historical editions of the text, those by Abraham Wheelock (1643), John Smith (1722), Thomas Miller (1890–8) and Jacob Schipper (1897–9). It presents a preliminary discussion of the divergent section in Book III.16–20, upon which Miller established his stemma, and the problems found in the lists of chapter headings, which compromise that stemma. While this chapter provides basic paleographical and codicological information, it also discusses the manuscripts as 'eventful texts', to borrow Allen Frantzen's term, considering the state of the manuscripts, including lacunae, apparent

scribal interventions and the ways in which these interventions add to the historical significance of the text.[43]

Chapter 2, 'Backgrounds and Contexts', presents the historical and scholarly backgrounds and contexts of the *OEHE*. It explores the history of the scholarship on the *OEHE*, including the debates over authorship. The question of whether the text should be associated with Alfred's program of translation or an earlier Mercian school of translation has been the subject of debate for over a century, so the history of this debate forms an important backdrop for this study. Returning to the material texts and examining the differences between the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *OEHE*, as well as the differences between the *OEHE* and other early English prose, this study asserts the independence of the *OEHE* from any such school.

This chapter also looks closely at historical continuity and change in early England, focusing on two protracted events that are usually seen as dividing moments in history: the *adventus Saxonum* and the later Scandinavian invasions and settlements. While these events caused significant demographic change in early England, some continuity of culture, learning and Christianity survived across both – from Roman Britain into the early Anglo-Saxon period, as well as across the ninth-century, from Bede's 'golden age of learning' to later Anglo-Saxon England, especially in the West Midlands. These historical discussions provide important background and contexts for my discussion of the historical contexts of Bede's anonymous early English translators, as well as for his reshaping of Bede's account of the arrival and conversion of the Germanic tribes. Questioning Bede's grand narrative using a combination of archaeological, micro-historical and textual information that has come to light in the last few decades, this chapter lays the groundwork for the closer examination of the differences between the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *OEHE* across the next several chapters.

Chapter 3, '*Gentes* Names and the Question of National Identity in the *OEHE*', analyzes the ways in which the *OEHE* translates the *gentes* names, the names of peoples or tribes. Bede's use of the term *gens Anglorum* has played a key role in recent movement in Anglo-Saxon scholarship. Scholars such as Patrick Wormald and Sarah Foot assert that King Alfred and his successors developed a sense of English national identity, drawing on Bede's use of *gens Anglorum* as an umbrella term referring to all of the 'English'. Alfred, in turn, used the distinctive terminology of *Angelcyn* and *Engla lond* to foster a sense of political identity. As a late-ninth- or early-tenth-century translation, the *OEHE* seems to provide a crucial link between Bede and Alfred, but, as I show in this chapter, the *OEHE* does not use the terms *Angelcyn* or *Engla lond* distinctively, nor does it use them in ways that correspond to King Alfred's usage. A close, comparative analysis of the terminology shows that the *OEHE* uses a variety of different terms to translate Bede's *gentes* names, establishing clear, consistent lexical difference between the *OEHE* and Alfredian

43 Allen J. Frantzen, *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English, and Teaching the Tradition* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1990), pp. 100–1 and 123–5.

practices. A coda to this chapter examines the main translator's use of the term *traiscan* ('trojan') to describe two scenes of terrible slaughter, and how this usage differs from later invocations of Troy in early England.

Chapter 4, 'Rewriting Salvation History', examines the ways in which Bede's Old English translator changes Book I and parts of Book V in order to present a different version of the fall of Britain and to reshape Bede's salvation history. By entirely omitting Bede's account of the Pelagian heresy and by revising Bede's presentation of the controversy over the dating of Easter, the *OEHE* presents a less pejorative view of the Britons, and focuses more closely on the importance of the universal Church as the unifying factor in Britain. Importantly, despite the fact that the translator of the *OEHE* was working after about a century of Viking invasions and dramatic demographic change in England, he adds no reference to those invasions as the just judgment of God. Rather, he substantially revises the imagery by which Bede represents English hegemony as just judgment. By refusing to make reference to or interpret the more recent invasions as divine punishment, the translator of the *OEHE* differs not only from Alfred, but also from the majority of later Old English prose and poetry.

Chapter 5, 'Who Read Æthelbert's Letter? Translation, Mediation and Authority in the *OEHE*', examines the ways in which the omission of papal letters from Book I alters the Old English account of the conversion of Kent. Because the *OEHE* omits or summarizes all of the papal letters, it decenters Roman authority in the text, and alters the polemics of the account of the conversion of Kent. Omitting the papal letters disrupts and challenges Bede's grand narrative of conversion, at the same time that it diffuses the contrast Bede establishes between written Roman authority and Irish orality. By decentering Roman authority and aggressively editing the voice of Gregory the Great from the text, the translator of the *OEHE* further distinguishes his work from Alfred's Roman and Gregorian affinities and calls attention to the many *peregrini* in the text.

As the first of two chapters in this study examining the rhetorical impact of removing the papal letters from Bede's account, this chapter also examines scenes of conversion and translation in the *OEHE*. Asking 'Who read Æthelbert's letter?' and launching this inquiry from the scene of Æthelbert's court raises surprising questions about the role of translation in conversion, and the place of Latin in early England. It challenges the notion that translation is necessarily secondary. Although Bede constructs Latin as a universal language in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, a close examination of the erasure of translation in his text reveals the active extent of linguistic and cultural contact in the conversion-period England.

Chapter 6, 'Queen Takes Bishop: Marriage, Conversion and Papal Authority in the *OEHE*', examines the impact of omitting the papal letters from Book II of the *OEHE* and of relocating to the end of Book III the one complete papal letter remaining in the *OEHE*, the *Libellus Responsionum*. Building on the previous chapter, this chapter continues to look at the ways in which limiting and redeploying the voice of papal authority shifts attention to other voices

and agents, especially women. Drawing on Clare Lees and Gillian Overing's study of women as double-agents in Anglo-Saxon England and Stacy Klein's revisionist strategies from *Ruling Women*, this chapter explores the role of royal women, especially Æthelburh, Eanflæd and Cyneburh, in the conversion of early Anglo-Saxon England.[44] As with language and translation, women and marriage are often subsumed by the universal, and universalizing, mission of Christianity in Bede's text.

Although Bede seems to play down the importance of marriage in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the institution, along with women and childbirth, constantly reasserts itself. This is nowhere more clear than in Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum*, which combines issues like theft from a Church and episcopal authority with extended discussions of menstruation, childbirth and ritual purity. By moving the letter to the end of Book III, Bede and Gregory's Old English translator recontexualizes it in relation to the larger conversion of the island (not just Kent), brings it closer in history to the present of the text, and calls attention to the dramatic ways in which conversion to Christianity changed lives, from the ways in which converts thought about their bodies to the marriage – and power – practices of the royalty.

Chapter 7, 'Visions of the Otherworld: Endings, Emplacement and Mutability in History', returns to the ways in which the *OEHE* reshapes and revises Bede's salvation history through Books III-V, and does so in the context of the otherworldly visions. Although the visions Bede records have been read as ahistorical, as merely didactic and possibly as Bede's concessions to 'popular culture', they play an important role in his construction of salvation history because they authorize Bede's Christian world view and confirm Britain's place in prophetic history. That is, the otherworldly visions of Fursey, Dryhthelm, the despairing thane and the drunken brother not only impart secret knowledge about the Otherworld and individual judgment, but they also provide new authority confirming that history in England proceeds – and is legible – according to divine intention. Bede and his translator, who transmits these accounts essentially *ad litteras*, frame each vision with detailed names and places. This simultaneously places early England within the framework of Christian eternity, which articulates the full teleology of salvation history and emphasizes the ways in which Bede and his translator shape and reshape history according to their belief in and re-presentation of the universal mission of early-medieval Christianity.

Finally, Chapters 8 and 9, 'Anglo-Saxon Signs of Use in Manuscripts O, C and B' and 'Later Medieval Signs of Use in Manuscripts Ca and T', analyze the traces, notes and annotations that readers of the *OEHE* from the Anglo-Saxon period to the fourteenth century left in the manuscripts. The medieval signs of use in the *OEHE* manuscripts include Latin glosses, marginal annotations and inscriptions, textual alterations, repunctuation, neumes and *nota* marks,

[44] Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, *Double Agents: Women and Clerical Culture in Anglo-Saxon England*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, 2001); Stacy S. Klein, *Ruling Women: Queenship and Gender in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Notre Dame, IN, 2006).

as well as added accents, word divisions, chapter and book numbering. These chapters explore the ways in which these interventions in the manuscripts reveal changes in the reception of the text, readerly interest in different historical figures, and the varied uses of the *OEHE* in the Middle Ages. Some of the use signs, such as repunctuation and Latin glossing in T may suggest that the *OEHE* was used for reference or lay education. Others, such as the neumations in B, suggest a high level of prestige for the manuscript, and that it was used for oral performances, perhaps as part of a vernacular office, while the annotations in Ca suggest that it was used for as a corpus of vernacular local saints' stories and as a resource for preparing materials for vernacular preaching. Examined comparatively, the use signs reveal that the *OEHE* manuscripts were valuable vernacular sources for reading, preaching, and knowledge about local saints and key historical figures in Anglo-Saxon England.

The narrative, lexical, historiographical and paleographical findings of this study combine to suggest that Bede's Old English translators carefully and respectfully revised their source to present a view of early English history that differs from Bede's. While the translation sometimes shows its seams, it accommodates English to Latin in ways that reveal the skill and precision of the translators. The relationship between the Church and kings in early England can be accurately described as symbiotic; however, the *OEHE* steers clear of the terms and ideologies strongly associated with Alfred and his successors. The *OEHE* does not look back on the age of Bede from the perspective of a king centralizing power and striving to build community by recalling a glorious English past. Rather, the *OEHE* transforms its source in a way that reflects a narrow focus on local history, key Anglo-Saxon saints and their miracles. Its reading of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* reflects an ecclesiastical setting more than a political one, with uses more hagiographical than royal. It recasts much of the conflict we would now describe as ethnic, honing in on the importance of unity in the Church as the central issue. This shift of intellectual contexts marks a major change in our understanding of the role of the *OEHE* in medieval England.

1

The Manuscripts and Editions of the *OEHE*

> Manuscripts dismissed as worthless by editors of critical texts are often the very ones where scribal editors have participated most fully in the activity of [that text], often at a high level of intellectual and even creative engagement. . . . certainly their activities provide a wealth of insight into a contemporary or near-contemporary reading of a text . . . into the tastes of the age and the expectations of readers.[1]

The *OEHE* survives in five manuscripts and three brief excerpts copied from the tenth to the late-eleventh centuries. These are, as Allen Frantzen puts it, 'eventful' texts; that is, they are '"sites" of multiple and simultaneous conflicts'.[2] They reflect a tremendous amount of scribal activity and intervention, as well as the fragility of the material texts over time. Most editions of the text have sought to repair the losses and erase layers of scribal intervention, so as to present a version of the *OEHE* that is as close as possible to Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* or a hypothetical reconstruction of the lost original translation. By treating the *OEHE* manuscripts as eventful, this study explores the history of the manuscripts as the history of the reception of the text. The variants and interventions in the manuscripts reveal much about the status and uses of the manuscripts, as well as about the transmission and reception of the *OEHE*, and through it, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in later Anglo-Saxon England.

Although we cannot always reconstruct the historical state of each manuscript in the medieval period with certainty, the *OEHE* manuscripts were subject to a variety of losses and interventions which contribute to the ways in which these texts preserved and presented early English history. Some of the lacunae and repairs have also provided key pieces of evidence for editors attempting to discern manuscript relations and provenance; some of the medieval restorations and repairs provide tantalizing clues as to the circulation and value of the texts. This chapter provides preliminary descriptions of the manuscripts and editions, discusses the ways in which accidental losses have affected the ways in which the manuscripts preserve and present the text, with special attention to the lists of chapter headings and the section of Book III.16–20, because this section survives in two different versions. Subsequent chapters look closely at the deliberate changes that Bede's English translators made in the text, as well as how these changes

1 Derek Pearsall, 'Editing Medieval Texts', in *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (Chicago, 1985), pp. 92–107, at p. 103.
2 Frantzen, *Desire for Origins*, p. 126.

sometimes coincide with accidental losses in ways that affect how the texts create historical meaning.

The Manuscripts of the OEHE

London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.IX, folio 11. s. ix^{ex} or x^{in} (Zu)
Ker 151, Gneuss 330

This single leaf measures 205 x 130 mm, with a written space of 180 x 97 mm. Neil Ker dates Zu to the beginning of the tenth century, but David Dumville argues for a window ranging from after 883 to about 930, with the possibility of a London origin.[3] Dumville identifies the hand as fourth reformed Insular minuscule.[4] Zu provides our earliest evidence of the *OEHE*, but contains only three brief excerpts, so little can be gleaned from it. However, the fact that the *OEHE* was being excerpted by the late-ninth or early-tenth century may suggest that the text was in circulation and already of some importance. The excerpts reflect serious interest in episcopal authority and marriage: 1. the ninth and tenth items from the decrees of synod of Hertford in IV.5, which state the need for more bishops and the rules of Christian marriage; 2. the beginning of I.16, the consecration of Augustine in Arles; and 3. the beginning of II.3, including Augustine's consecration of Mellitus (but not Justus), and sending him to preach to the East Saxons.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 10, s. x^{1} (T)
Ker 351, Gneuss 668

The paleography and codicology of T have been described in great detail by Thomas Miller, Janet Bately and Richard Gameson, the latter two of whom had access to the manuscript while it was recently disbound for restoration.[5] Its dimensions are 250 x 167 mm (trimmed), with a written space of *c.* 175 x 110 mm. Three quires are missing from the beginning, and two from the end, so the manuscript now contains 139 leaves in 17 quires.[6] T shows signs of water damage, which occurred when the manuscript was moved from Norwich to Oxford in 1731 with Thomas Tanner's other books.[7] The date and provenance of the manuscript are the subject of debate. Bately argues that the manuscript

[3] See *The Tanner Bede: The Old English Version of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, Oxford Bodleian Library Tanner 10 together with the Mediaeval Binding Leaves, Oxford Bodleian Library Tanner 10* and the Domitian Extracts*, ed. Janet M. Bately, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 24 (Copenhagen, 1992); and Julius Zupitza, 'Drei alte Excerpte aus Alfreds Beda', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 30 (1886), 185–6.

[4] David Dumville, 'English Square Minuscule Script: The Background and Earliest Phases', *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1985), 147–79, at p. 167.

[5] See *OEHE*; Bately, *Tanner Bede*; Richard Gameson, 'The Decoration of the Tanner Bede', *Anglo-Saxon England* 21 (1992), 115–59; Richard Gameson, 'The Fabric of the Tanner Bede', *Bodleian Library Record* 14 (1992), 176–206.

[6] Gameson, 'Fabric', p. 176.

[7] T. Tanner (1674–1735), bishop of St Asaph. See: http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/rarebooks/rbdtz.htm

was copied 'no later than the first decade of the tenth century' on the basis of linguistic evidence.[8] Ker and Gameson set possible limits between 890 and 930. As Gameson points out, this corresponds roughly to the reign of Edward the Elder (899–924).[9] The manuscript remains of unknown origin; Winchester has been suggested, although Gameson rejects this idea on the basis of the manuscript decoration.[10]

T was copied by five scribes, the first of whom wrote the first 102 folios (and a few short stints after that) in a fourth reformed Insular minuscule; he was more skilled than the others.[11] Three of the other scribes worked in the earliest phase of Anglo-Saxon square minuscule; the final scribe reinserted a passage, on folios 104–15, in a mid-tenth-century square minuscule closely resembling that of Sawyer 552.[12] As Gregory Waite has recently shown, the scribes of T, including the one working in the mid-tenth-century, were more likely to conserve Anglian dialect words than the scribes who wrote C (see below) though they all tended to update orthography.[13] As I discuss in Chapter 9, in addition to the hands of the five main scribes, T contains over one hundred glosses, annotations, chapter numberings and several chapter headings that were added by one or two additional hands in the fourteenth century.

The five main scribes were also responsible for the display script of their sections, which consists of dynamic zoomorphic initials, often in a combination of colors (yellow, green, red and brown). The initials, which may reflect the high esteem in which the manuscript was initially held, mostly fall into Francis Wormald's Type I, but some show interlace features usually found in Type II initials.[14] Some also include whole human figures, the use of which remained unusual as part of historiated initials until the mid-eleventh century. Some initials and marginal figures were added as late as the fourteenth century.[15] Although Wormald used the term 'Winchester School' to describe his Type I initials, he cautioned against the automatic assumption that manuscripts with similar decoration come from Winchester. Gameson reiterates that the style is too varied to serve as the sole basis for locating a manuscript, and stresses that 'the writing and the decoration' of T 'lead in slightly different directions'.[16] Although Winchester cannot be ruled out as a place of origin

8 'The most we can claim on linguistic grounds is that the use of the terms *Scotland* and *Scotta land* for *Hibernia*, not *Iraland* or *Ireland*, may indicate a date of composition not later than the first decade or so of the tenth century', Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p. 11.

9 Gameson discusses the date and provenance of the manuscript in depth in 'Decoration'; see also 'Fabric', p. 176.

10 For the Winchester argument, see Malcolm B. Parkes, 'The Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript of the Chronicle, Laws and Sedulius, and Historiography at Winchester in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1976), 149–71.

11 Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p. 18; Gameson, 'Fabric', p. 180.

12 Parkes, 'Palaeography', p. 159.

13 Waite, 'Revisiting the Old English Bede'.

14 According to Wormald, Type I initials are 'composed of complete creatures (dragons or birds), interlace, acanthus, and a modified use of birds and animal heads', Francis Wormald, 'Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts. From A.D. 900 to 1100', *Archaeologia* 91 (1945), 107–35.

15 Gameson, 'Decoration', pp. 133–5.

16 Ibid., p. 130.



Plate 1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 10, folio 68r
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Plate 2. London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho B.XI, folio 28r
By permission of the British Library

for T, neither can it be confirmed. The flyleaves indicate that the manuscript's medieval provenance was Thorney Abbey. Although no one knows when T arrived at Thorney, it was rebound there in the middle of the fourteenth century, at which point an abbey mortuary roll was used for the flyleaves (now Tanner 10*).

London, British Library, Cotton Otho B.XI, s. x^{med}–s. xii (C)
Ker 180, Gneuss 357

C dates to mid-tenth-century Winchester. It was badly burned in the fire at Ashburnham House in 1731, so that only about thirty-eight leaves of the *OEHE* survive. Before the fire, one leaf was removed. This leaf survives in British Library Additional 34652 and measures 244 x 177 mm, with a writing space of 207 x 144 mm. It contains a copy of the West Saxon regnal table (a version of which also appears in Ca).[17] The least damaged leaves that survive in C measure 165 x 125 mm, with a written space of about 137 x 100 mm. As M. B. Parkes and Neil Ker have discussed, the scribe of the bulk of the *OEHE* text in C is 'very like and probably the same' as the scribe who wrote the annals for 925–55 (folios 26v–27v) of the Parker Chronicle, Corpus Christi College Cambridge 173. The hand also resembles the hand of British Library Additional 47967, the 'Tollemache' or 'Lauderdale' Orosius.[18] In the first quarter of the eleventh century, probably still in Winchester, the whole of CCCC 173 was copied into C, creating a composite manuscript including the *OEHE*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, lists of popes and bishops, the Laws of Alfred and Ine, the Burghal Hidage, a poem on the seasons of fasting and herbal recipes. While most of the materials that were added to C were destroyed in the fire, we know the details of the contents because the entire manuscript was copied by Laurence Nowell at the home of Sir William Cecil in 1562 (now British Library Additional 43703 [N]).[19] From this transcript (to which Miller had no access), as well as collations by Wheelock and Smith, we know that C relates

17 According to Ker, the chronology of the Anglo-Saxon kings was not in the manuscript in Wanley's time, it 'was originally there, and survives now as a leaf in a volume of manuscript fragments which belonged to Thomas Astle (d. 1803). . . . The leaf no doubt preceded the chronicle – i.e. followed immediately f. 36'. N. Ker, 'Membra Disiecta II', *British Museum Quarterly* 14.4 (1940), 81–2. Roland Torkar has recently re-evaluated the manuscript as a whole; he argues that the regnal table up to Edward, now British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 178r, preceded the *OEHE*, while the table now preserved as the Additional manuscript followed it. R. Torkar, *Eine altenglische Übersetzung von Alcuins De Virtutibus et Vitiis, Kap 20 (Liebermanns Judex), Untersuchungen und Textausgabe* (Munich, 1981), pp. 42–3.

18 N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 233–4. Also see the entry for no. 39 (the Parker Chronicle). See also Parkes, 'Palaeography', p. 167; *The Tollemache Orosius*, ed. A. Campbell, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 3 (Copenhagen, 1953); and Paulus Orosius, *Historiae adversus Paganos*, *The Old English Orosius*, ed. Janet Bately, Early English Text Society, ss 6 (London, 1980).

19 Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 232. See also Raymond J. S. Grant, 'Lawrence Nowell's Transcript of BM Cotton Otho B.xi', *Anglo-Saxon England* 3 (1974), 111–24. R. Torkar has solved to Patrick Wormald's satisfaction the problem of pagination noted by Ker. See Torkar, *Übersetzung*, pp. 50–65; and P. Wormald, 'British Library Cotton MS. Cotton Otho B.xi: A Supplementary Note', in *The Defense of Wessex: The Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications*, ed. David Hill and Alexander R. Rumble (Manchester, 1996), pp. 59–68.

most closely to manuscripts O and Ca of the *OEHE*, because of gaps at II.5–7, and III.19–20.[20] These three manuscripts also have (or had, in the case of C) an alternative translation of III.16–18. I discuss this at greater length below, and in relation to questions regarding authorship in the next chapter.

We know from an inscription on what is now folio 28 that C was in Southwick, Hampshire, in the thirteenth century. Sir Robert Cotton obtained it before 1621, which is when he lent it to William L'Isle. L'Isle annotated the manuscript, Wheelock collated it in 1643 for his edition (as did Smith in 1722), and Humfrey Wanley wrote a detailed description in 1705.[21] The final collection of recipes was lost between the time of Nowell's transcription and Wheelock's use of it.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279B, s. xi in. (O)
Ker 354, Gneuss 673

O dates to the early-eleventh century. It is also of unknown origin, and its medieval provenance also remains unknown. It contains 161 folios in 21 quires; the leaves measure 259 x 168 mm (trimmed), with a writing space of 225–210 x 111mm. Three quires are probably lost from the beginning, and one from the end. O relates most closely to manuscripts C (N) and Ca, as noted above. Although Miller thought the manuscript was written and corrected by many scribes, Ker and, more recently, Peter Stokes identify three main scribes.[22] The main scribe wrote the bulk of the manuscript, with scribe 2 writing short stints from 11v to 149v. The third scribe wrote only folio 47r and part of 47v. At least three 'and probably several' scribes made extensive alterations throughout the manuscript.[23] The majority of these are contemporary with the copying of the manuscript, some of them in the red ink of the rubricator. The hands are a rounded form of insular minuscule, with scribe 3 showing the influence of Anglo-Saxon square minuscule.

When O came to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is also unknown. It was not part of the original collection of the library's founder Richard Foxe, nor does it appear in the library's earliest record (1589). Ker suggested that Bryan Twyne (1580–1644) owned the manuscript, because he wrote a word on folio 101v, but it is not included in Coxe's catalogue of Twyne's manuscripts.[24] It was

20 Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede' and 'The List of Chapter-Headings in the Old English Bede', in *Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope*, ed. Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving, Jr. (Toronto, 1974), pp. 263–84. See also S. Potter, 'On the Relation of the Old English Bede to Werferth's Gregory and to Alfred's Translations', *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Sciences de Bohême* (Prague, 1930), p. 33; J. J. Campbell, 'The Old English Bede: Book III, Chapters 16–20', *Modern Language Notes* (1953), 381–6; Rowley, 'Nostalgia and the Rhetoric of Lack'.

21 Grant, 'Lawrence Nowell's Transcript', at p. 111. For more positive assessments of Nowell's transcript, see Angelika Lutz, 'Zur Rekonstruktion der Version G der Angelsächsischen Chronik', *Anglia* 95 (1977), 1–19; and Roland Torkar, 'Zu den ae. Medizinaltexten in Otho B.XI und Royal 12 D.XVII, mit einer Edition der Unica (Ker, no. 180 art. 11a–d)', *Anglia* 94 (1976), 319–38.

22 Peter Stokes, 'English Vernacular Script ca. 990–ca.1035', Ph.D thesis, University of Cambridge, 2005. See entries for G 673–1 through 5, and p. 213.

23 Ibid., p. 213.

24 H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Oxford Colleges* (Wakefield, 1872, 1972); see also



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Plate 3. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 279B, folio 31v
By permission of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford

bound with a fourteenth-century Latin copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, until they were separated and rebound in 1992. This Latin copy (MS 279A) contains writing by, and appears in, the records of John Twyne (d. 1581), but the Old English version does not appear in his records or contain his writing. John Twyne was a resident of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. He came into possession of dozens of manuscripts when that monastery was dissolved in 1538, and had an active interest in English history and myths of origin.[25] It is possible that the Old English version was already appended to the Latin at that point, which would mean that its late-medieval provenance may have been St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, but this remains speculation.[26] Subsequently, John Twyne's grandson Bryan Twyne established the family connection with Corpus Christi College and gave 279A to the college. As late as 1640, Bryan Twyne himself describes the library's Latin copy in some detail, but, again, with no mention of the *OEHE*.

Jacob Schipper printed O as one of his base texts in his 1897–9 edition of the *OEHE*.[27] Digital images of the entire manuscript are available at the Bodleian Library's website, 'Early Manuscripts at Oxford'.[28]

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 41, s. xi[1] (B)
Ker 32, Gneuss, 39, Budny 32

B dates to the beginning of the tenth century and was copied at an unidentified center in southern England. Stokes has recently suggested Crediton, Devon.[29] The manuscript has been described in detail by Mildred Budny, Timothy Graham and Raymond Grant.[30] It is a large-format book, with 484 pages. The leaves measure 340 x 205 mm, with a main writing space of *c.* 261 x 143 mm for the main text and *c.* 334 x 199 mm for the largest secondary text (Budny). The main text of the *OEHE* was written by two scribes writing simultaneously in a style that retained more features of Anglo-Saxon square minuscule than most other early-eleventh-century manuscripts, hence Stokes's

A. G. Watson, 'John Twyne of Canterbury (d. 1581) as a Collector of Medieval Manuscripts: A Preliminary Investigation', *The Library*, 6th ser., 8/2 (June 1986), 133–51.

25 John Twyne, *De Rebus Albionicis, Britannicis atque Anglicis, Commentariorum Libri Duo* (London, 1590); Arthur B. Ferguson, 'John Twyne: A Tudor Humanist and the Problem of Legend', *The Journal of British Studies* 9.1 (1969), 24–44.

26 Timothy Bolton also traces O to John Twyne on these grounds. Bolton identifies the red-crayon page numberings in the manuscript as being in Parker's hand, and speculates that both Parker and John Joscelyn had access to the manuscript via Twyne. Timothy Bolton, personal correspondence, 5 April 2011. Bolton will discuss these issues, along with the colorful interactions between Parker and Twyne in a forthcoming, but as yet untitled, article in *The Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*.

27 *König Alfreds Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Jacob Schipper. Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 4 (Leipzig, 1897 and 1899).

28 http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=corpus&manuscript=ms279b

29 Stokes, 'English Vernacular Script', p. 145.

30 Timothy Graham, Raymond J. S. Grant, Peter J. Lucas and Elaine M. Traherne, eds., 'Corpus Christi College, Cambridge I: Manuscripts 41, 57, 191, 302, 303, 367, 383, 422', Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile 11 (Tempe, AZ, 2003); Mildred Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1997).

cautious attribution to Crediton. Some time in the middle of the eleventh century a third scribe added almost all of the now famous marginal materials, which include formulae in Old English and Latin, part of the Old English Martyrology, an Old English verse dialogue between Solomon and Saturn, six anonymous Old English homilies, and extensive liturgical materials in Latin.[31] As Budny points out, although some of the initials appear to be original, many historiated initials and some additional drawings were also added to the manuscript in the eleventh century.[32]

We know from a bilingual inscription that Bishop Leofric gave the manuscript to the library of the cathedral at Exeter some time between 1069 and 1072.[33] Another annotator, very likely at Exeter in the eleventh century, added musical notation on pages 26, 324 and 422. The manuscript came into the hands of Parker in the sixteenth century, and shows signs of use by Parker, Wheelock and John Joscelyn (1529–1603), who used it and Ca in the process of compiling his unpublished dictionary.[34] The complete manuscript is available on-line as part of the 'Parker on the Web' initiative.[35]

Cambridge, University Library, Kk 3.18, s. xi[2] (Ca)
Ker 23, Gneuss 22

Ca comes from Worcester Cathedral Priory in the second half of the eleventh century, probably *c.* 1062–95. Hemming, a scribe known to be working in Worcester during the episcopacy of Wulfstan of Worcester, wrote the main text and perhaps also the rubrics and running titles.[36] Ca contains 99 folios measuring *c.* 320 x 225 mm (trimmed), with a written space of *c.* 265 x 158 mm. It is a faithful copy of O, missing only a few of the later corrections. This manuscript has the same gaps in Books II and III, as well as the alternative translation in Book III as manuscripts N and O, but is otherwise complete.

31 Editions of the marginal texts are as follows: *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, 3 vols., ed. Thomas Oswald Cockayne, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 35 (London, 1864–6, rpt. London, 1961); *The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, ed. Robert J. Menner, Modern Language Association of America Monograph Series 13 (New York, 1941); *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41: The Loricas and the Missal*, ed. Raymond J. S. Grant (Amsterdam, 1979); *Three Homilies from CCCC 41: The Assumption, St. Michael, and the Passion*, ed. Raymond J. S. Grant (Ottawa, 1982); 'A New Version of the Apocalypse of Thomas in Old English', ed. Max Förster, *Anglia* 73 (1955), 6–36; 'The Old English Gospel of Nicodemus', ed. William Hulme, *Modern Philology* 1 (1903–4), 32–6; *Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies*, ed. Rudolf Willard, Beiträge zur englischen Philologie 30 (Leipzig, 1935). See also Sarah Larratt Keefer, 'Margin as Archive: The Liturgical Marginalia of a Manuscript of the Old English Bede', *Traditio* 51 (1996), 147–77; Thomas Bredehoft, 'Filling the Margins of CCCC 41: Textual Space and a Developing Archive', *Review of English Studies* n.s. 57 (2006), 721–73.

32 Budny, *Catalogue*.

33 Raymond J. S. Grant, *The B Text of the Old English Bede*: *A Linguistic Commentary* (Amsterdam, 1989), p. 8.

34 Timothy Graham, 'Joscelyn's Old English Lexicography', in *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Publications of the Rawlinson Center 1, ed. Timothy Graham (Kalamazoo, MI, 2000), pp. 83-140, at p. 118.

35 http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page.do?forward=home

36 Hemming also wrote Ker, *Catalogue*, nos. 37, 67, 190, 331, 338 and Harley Charter 83. See Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 37.

Ca includes the famous West Saxon regnal table at the beginning after its list of chapter headings. This table was also present in C before it was burned, though if Torkar is correct about the layout, Ca differs from C in keeping the entire table together. Ca was also used and annotated by Coleman, who was chancellor to Wulfstan in 1089, and prior of Westbury-on-Trym in 1093.[37] The Tremulous Hand of Worcester also glossed Ca heavily in the thirteenth century.[38] Timothy Graham argues persuasively that the manuscript stayed in Worcester until the sixteenth century, when it passed into the hands of Robert Talbot. It went next to Matthew Parker, who donated it to the Cambridge University Library in 1574.[39]

A Note on Circulation and Provenance

Finally, in addition to the surviving manuscripts which were written or had medieval provenance in London, Canterbury, Crediton, Exeter, Winchester and Thorney Abbey, references to manuscripts of the *OEHE* and medieval booklists suggest that copies were also once in Durham, Cerne Abbey and Burton-on-Trent.[40] Considering all of these locations, it becomes clear that the *OEHE* was well disseminated in England during the medieval period.

Editions of the OEHE

The complete *OEHE* has been edited four times since the inception of print. Abraham Wheelock's 1643 edition, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, is the first English edition of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and the first edition of the Old English version anywhere. Wheelock uses Ca as his base text, and presents variants from B and C. (Because he does not give variants from T, this early edition fails to shed light on the state of T in 1643.) Wheelock presents the Old English and Latin in parallel columns with extensive notes and additions. His edition imitates C to an extent, by including an edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The 1664 reprint adds the laws of Anglo-Saxon kings. Wheelock arranges the Old English to match the Latin order, leaving clear visual gaps where the Old English has omitted sections. As Timothy Graham, Michael Murphy, and Allen Frantzen have all discussed, Wheelock

37 Ker, 'Old English Notes Signed "Coleman"', *Medium Ævum* 19 (1949), 18–21. See also David F. Johnson and Winfried Rudolf, 'More Notes by Coleman', *Medium Ævum* 79.1 (2010), 113–25.

38 Christine Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the 13th Century* (Oxford, 1991).

39 Timothy Graham, 'Robert Talbot's "Old Saxonice Bede": Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.3.18 and the "Alphabetum Norwagicum" of British Library, Cotton Manuscripts, Domitian A.IX', in *Books and Collectors 1200–1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite (London, 1997), pp. 295–316, at p. 302.

40 Dorothy Whitelock, 'William of Malmsbury on the Works of King Alfred', in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, ed. D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron (London, 1969), pp. 78–93, at p. 88. I have mapped all the reported medieval locations of the *OEHE* here: http://maps.google.com/maps/ms?hl=en&ie=UTF8&msa=0&msid=103642445578766743005.00044468a22fa858f974b&z=7

followed practices like those of the Parkerian school of early-modern editors who learned Old English and mined Anglo-Saxon manuscripts for evidence of the practices of the early English Church to provide historical precedent for the practices of the new Church of England.[41] According to Wheelock's dedication, the writings in his edition 'will put before [the reader] the proof of the antiquity [of current Anglican doctrine], which will remove the accusation of novelty, and they will demonstrate abundantly the unanimity that our communion has with the ancient mother Church'.[42] Indeed, Wheelock's most apparent interventions are the Anglo-Saxon homilies he interpolates into his edition at various points to historicize and comment upon issues such as the Pelagian heresy and the Easter controversy. Critical of Pope Gregory the Great, Wheelock focuses much of his commentary on the ways in which the *OEHE* abridges Bede's account of St. Augustine's mission.

Less visually apparent is Wheelock's rearrangement of the *OEHE* to follow the Latin, principally in moving Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum* from its place in Book III of the *OEHE* back to its Latin position in Book I. Otherwise, however, Wheelock's choice of parallel columns makes the differences between the *OEHE* and its source very clear. Where the *OEHE* eliminates material, Wheelock indicates 'deest Sax'. Although Wheelock's text includes some misprints, Smith praised Wheelock for his accuracy and Francis Junius used his edition for his dictionary.[43]

In 1722, John Smith printed his *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum Libri Quinque*. This is a selection of Bede's Latin writings, which includes the *OEHE* toward the end of the volume. Smith's is a clear, accurate edition of Ca with variants from C, B, O and T; he corrects many of Wheelock's misprints. The variants that he offers from T suggest that the beginning and end of the manuscript were lost by this time. Smith's edition, like Wheelock's, is relatively inaccessible, only available in rare-book rooms and private collections. Jacob Schipper's 1897–9 edition, *König Alfreds Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte*, was also relatively inaccessible until the copyright expired and it was posted on Google Books. Schipper presents O and B in parallel texts, which allows readers to compare a complete example of one branch of the theoretical manuscript families with the oldest surviving text of the other, which can be very useful. Although his edition has been widely criticized as inaccurate, one advantage of Schipper's edition is that he prints the Latin with the Old English, which Miller's edition does not.[44]

41 The history of Parker and his circle has been studied extensively. See *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Timothy Graham, Publications of the Rawlinson Center I (Kalamazoo, MI, 2000); Frantzen, *Desire for Origins*; Michael Murphy, 'Abraham Wheelock's Edition of Bede's *History* in Old English', *Studia Neophilologica* 39.1 (1967), 46–59; Raeleen Chai-Elsholz, '"Painted with the Color of Ancientie": Two Early-Modern Editions of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*', *The Medieval Translator* 10, ed. Jacqueline Jenkins and Olivier Bertrand (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 179–91.

42 Trans. Murphy, 'Wheelock', p. 51.

43 Kees Dekker, '"That Most Elaborate One of Fr. Junius": An Investigation of Francis Junius's Manuscript Old English Dictionary', in *The Recovery of Old English*, ed. Timothy Graham, pp. 301–43, at pp. 323–5.

44 Grant, *B Text*, p. 17.

In 1890–8, Thomas Miller published his edition, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Miller's is an accurate critical edition of T, with a facing-page modern English translation. It made the *OEHE* widely available for the first time, and has been the definitive edition since it was published. Miller's work was groundbreaking in many ways. As I discuss at greater length in the next chapter, his determination that the original translation of the *OEHE* was in Anglian, a Mercian dialect, changed the study of *OEHE* – and in some ways the study of Old English prose – for ever. His edition, however, very much reflects the editorial practices of its day. Miller reconstructs a hypothetical Anglian archetype, by adopting a 'contamination' of texts founded on 'T. C. O. Ca, in order of preference'.[45] Although all five manuscripts are predominantly late West Saxon, Miller minimizes this dialect shift and many of the other signs of scribal activity apparent in the manuscripts.[46] Miller's focus on reconstructing the archetype sometimes leads him to overstate the quality of his main text, T, and to be dismissive of the value of the other manuscripts, especially B. As Raymond Grant points out,

> Miller's reliance on T for his main text . . . obscures one point, namely that instances of agreement between B, O, Ca, C and the Latin show that T has errors to which Miller has not drawn attention and which demonstrate that T is just the best of the surviving Old English Bede texts and not necessarily as good a version as Miller might be held to imply.

Grant's observation that T may be just the 'best surviving' text rather than being a 'good' one reflects the complexity of reading and editing the *OEHE*, and suggests that working with earlier editions might not be as 'impractical' as Grant himself implies.[47] Like Wheelock, Miller intervenes regularly on the basis of Bede's Latin text, rearranging the text to make it correspond more closely to Bede's Latin; that is, with the exception of his construction of the composite chapter III.14 (see Table 1). Whereas Wheelock's layout makes his interventions visible, Miller's does not. Consequently, his edition gives a deeply misleading impression of the nature of the Old English version. Although Miller's choices reflected a longstanding editorial tradition, they effectively obscured the degree to which the *OEHE* differs from, revises and develops its Latin source.

Crucially, however, for the first time, Miller's edition presented substantial evidence that the *OEHE* was originally translated in a Mercian dialect rather than early West Saxon, the dialect of King Alfred. Miller also raised questions about the number of translators involved based on variation between manuscripts.[48] As I discuss in the next chapter, along with the question of translation style, these two issues – the dialect of the text and number of

45 *OEHE* I, p. v. The punctuation of the list of manuscripts is Miller's.

46 Grant, *B Text*, p. 4.

47 Grant, *B Text*, p. 17. Grant dismisses both early editions: 'It goes without saying that the editions of Wheelock and Smith are impractical because they print Ca rather than T as the main text', but they 'can be used for the variants they record from C before the Cotton fire' (p. 15).

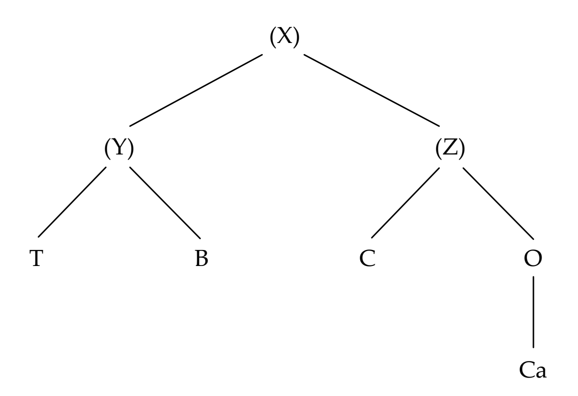
48 *OEHE*, 'Introduction'.

translators – dominated scholarship on the *OEHE* for the last decade of the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century. It is well they should have, since these questions have serious implications for our understanding of the historical and intellectual contexts of the translation.[49]

The Divergence in Book III and the Lists of Chapter Headings

The divergence in *OEHE* III.14–18 (*HE* III.16–18) warrants further discussion, because it constitutes the difference upon which Thomas Miller constructed his stemma. The list of chapter headings, however, compromises Miller's stemma, so that the relations between the surviving *OEHE* manuscripts remains unresolved.[50]

Fig. 1. Miller's stemma



The three key points here are: 1. manuscripts T and B, Miller's (Y) group, preserve the original translation of this section;[51] 2. manuscripts C, O and Ca, Miller's (Z) group, preserve a completely different translation of *HE* III.16–18;[52] 3. Miller's (Z) group also omits *HE* III.19–20 entirely.

49 *OEHE*, pp. xxiv–xxv.

50 Gregory Waite and I are currently working on a new edition of the text including variants from N (to which Miller did not have access) and the restored section in T (which Miller did not recognize as being from a later period).

51 In Miller's edition, the divergent section runs from p. 202/9 to p. 204/33; the 'addition' from p. 206/1 to p. 208/4; and the section surviving it T and B from p. 210/3 to 220/18. Miller prints O in vol. II.1, pp. 221–7. See also *OEHE*, p. xxiv; Whitelock, 'Chapter-Headings', pp. 263–5, and Potter, 'Relation'.

52 The restored section, as Campbell has shown, does not manifest the same Mercian dialect as the TB version. It is also rather literal, following the Latin closely, though often choosing different words and constructions from the TB version. Campbell, 'The Old English Bede: Book III'. I return to these issues in my discussion of the history of *OEHE* scholarship in the next chapter.

Table 1. Chapter-breaks from Book III, chapters 14–19 in the *OEHE* manuscripts

Miller	*OEHE* chapter-breaks	T	Marker	Incipit
14	14 (*HE* 16)	41r/5	row of capitals	ÞONNE SECGAÐ MOnige |
	15 (*HE* 17)	41v/11	row of capitals	ðA ÐÆT ÐA CEN WÆS |
	16 (*HE* 18)	42v/5	row of capitals	ÞISSUM TIDUM EASTENG
	17 (*HE* 19)	43r/15	row of capitals	MID ÐY ÐE SIGEBERHT |
	18 (*HE* 20)	46v/10	row of capitals	BE · TWEOH · ÐÆS · ÐING ÐA |
15	19 (*HE* 21)	47r/3	row of capitals	ÞISSUM · TIDUM · MIDDEL |
		B		
14	14 (*HE* 16)	163/1	space for an initial, one word in capitals	ONNE secgeað monige
	15 (*HE* 17)	164/8	space for an initial, one word in capitals	A þ(æt)ða gyt wæs
	16 (*HE* 18)	166/1	space for an initial, one word in capitals	Yssum tidum east engla
	17 (*HE* 19)	167/7	annotation by Wheelock	no new chapter, occurs mid-line
	18 (*HE* 20)	174/12	space for an initial, one word in capitals	Etwyx þaðing þam forð ferendum
15	19 (*HE* 21)	175/8	space for an initial, one word in capitals	Þyssum tídum middel en,\g/le
		O		
14	14 (*HE* 16)	44r/6	red capital	[A/Ð]on(ne) secgeað monig
	15 (*HE* 17)	44v/18	red capital	Ðysne halgan bisceop
	16 (*HE* 18)	46v/20	red capital	On þas tíd heold east engla
	17 (*HE* 19)		—	—
	18 (*HE* 20)		—	—
15	19 (*HE* 21)	47v/10	red capital	Ðyssum tidum middel engle
		Ca		
14	14 (*HE* 16)	39v/5	red capital	Ð onn(e) secgeað monige
	15 (*HE* 17)	39v/28	red capital	Ð ysne halgan b'·
	16 (*HE* 18)	40v/30	red capital	O nðas tid heold east engla rice
	17 (*HE* 19)	—		—
	18 (*HE* 20)	—		—
15	19 (*HE* 21)	41r/24	red capital	Ð yssu(m) tidu(m) middel engle

However, Miller's layout of this section compounds the difficulty here, because he includes all of *OEHE* chapters 14–18 in chapter 14 of his edition. He makes this choice because he follows the medieval chapter numbering in Ca, which roughly corresponds with the list of chapter headings. The list itself does not correspond to the state of any surviving *OEHE* manuscript, though it corresponds more closely to the state of the manuscripts in Miller's Z group. At this point in Book III, however, the list fails to reflect the actual chapter-breaks in the manuscripts. All the manuscripts (including Ca) have clear and consistent chapter-breaks that correspond to the chapter divisions in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The one exception is that B fails to break for *OEHE* III.19. Table 1 summarizes the state of the chapter-breaks, in the *OEHE* manuscripts, from III.14–19, which correspond to *HE* III.16–20. It indicates how each manuscript marks the beginning of a new chapter, and the first line of each.

Further inconsistencies in the lists of chapter headings exacerbate the problems of manuscript relations raised by this section in Book III. Only two of the extant *OEHE* manuscripts, B and Ca, contain the lists of chapter headings. Problematically, as Dorothy Whitelock points out, the list of chapter headings in B lacks the entries for *OEHE* chapters 17–18 (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 19–20), chapters that it contains and never lacked. How B came to include a list of chapter headings that better fits Ca is puzzling: chronologically, B could not have copied the list from Ca, and B also retains some readings of the Latin superior to those of Ca. On the basis of this evidence, Whitelock 'doubt[s] whether there ever was an archetype Y', concluding that 'one can only speculate' about the numbers of originals, the timing of the omissions of text, and additions of chapter headings.[53]

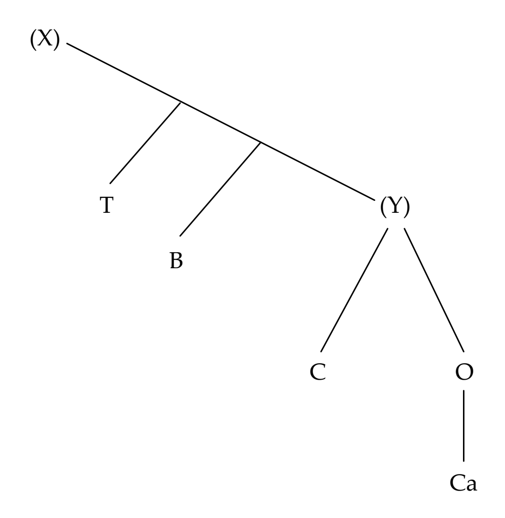


Fig. 2. Revised but still problematic stemma (Whitelock and Grant)[54]

[53] Whitelock, 'Chapter-Headings', pp. 275–7.
[54] Grant, *B Text*, p. 6.

Table 2. The state of the *OEHE* manuscripts

Text	Preface	Chapter headings	Book I	Book II	Book III	Book IV	Book V	Envoi
C	missing	missing	missing	missing	fragments from chapters 7–29, not sequential	fragments from 11–32, not sequential	fragments, 472/27 (gelyfede) -480/15	missing
T	missing	missing	begins I.13 (L23, Miller 54/2); fol.2 missing (13–14; 56/14–60/1). End of I.18 missing (92/17–96/8)	II.1 beginning missing, starts 96/8; II.10 (L13) missing (134/1–136/18); II.16 (L20)-III.1missing (150/20–152/21)	III.1, beginning missing, starts 152/21. 'lacks the 'addition' from O.Ca about Aidan, III.15 OE (17L)	leaf missing at IV.17 (L13; 304/7–306/19)	ends V.15, Miller 442/ 23	missing
O	missing	missing	begins I.14 (25L, Miller 56/28)	gap II.5–7	gap, III. 17–18OE (19–20L)	complete	ends V.17 OE, 462/4 (19L)	missing
Ca	complete	complete	complete	gap II.5–7	gap, III. 17–18OE (19–20L)	complete	complete	complete
B	complete	complete	complete	complete	complete, except 'addition' from O and Ca about Aidan, III.15 OE (17L)	complete	complete	complete, w/metrical envoi

Finally, another tantalizing piece of evidence regarding this section and the circulation of the *OEHE* manuscripts appears in Ca, though it does not help resolve these questions. Hemming, the scribe of Ca, or his rubricator, annotates the passage in III.14–15 with the alternative translation in red, noting: 'EFT oðer cw(ide)' ('then the other passage'), where this section starts on folio 39v/27 and '⁊ eft oðer cwide' ('and afterwards the other passage'), on folio 40v/29 where it ends. These notes, which do not appear in O, suggest that Hemming (or his rubricator) had access to another *OEHE* manuscript, like T or B, or noticed the differences in language and style.[55] If he (or they) did have such access, it remains unclear why none of the other variations or lacunae have been annotated or restored.

Although the argument I build in the next few chapters of this study considers the shape of the *OEHE* as a whole and the way in which that shape differs from that of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the varied states of the material texts of the *OEHE* also come into play. Differences between the texts raise questions as to the state of the text to which medieval readers had access, and therefore about the impact the state of each manuscript may have had on later Anglo-Saxon readers of the *OEHE*. Currently, B is the only arguably complete manuscript – arguably because it does not contain an extra paragraph about Aidan translated by the scribe who restored the missing section in Book III to the archetype of C, O and Ca. Considering these losses and lacunae in relation to content and meaning reveals the extent to which reading history, or *a* reading of history, remains contingent on material textuality. While the *OEHE* brought a version of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* to later and possibly wider vernacular Anglo-Saxon audiences, the evidence suggests that it sometimes did so in fragments, as Table 2 demonstrates.

Clearly, given the state of the manuscripts and the many signs of activity in them, it is not always safe to assume readers had access to complete texts, even in the early-tenth century. We know that some losses to the manuscripts occurred very early. For example, that famous section of III.16–20, must have gone missing and been restored before C was copied in the mid-tenth century. Similarly, a section of T, folios 104–15, also seems to have gone missing, only to be restored by a scribe in the middle of the tenth century. The scribe who restored this section to T had access to another manuscript of the *OEHE* from which to copy the missing passages. In contrast, the person who retranslated the passage in Book III anew from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* had access to Bede's Latin, but not to another copy of the *OEHE*. Both of these restorations suggest that the *OEHE* was valuable enough to Anglo-Saxon audiences in the tenth century to warrant the effort. They also provide limited evidence that there were scribes and translators skilled enough to do it, which may be relevant to Alfred's famous claims about the loss of Latin learning south

[55] See also S. M. Rowley, '"Ic Beda . . . cwæð Beda", Reinscribing Bede in the Old English *Historia Ecclesiastica*', in *Palimpsests and the Literary Imagination of Medieval England. Collected Essays*, ed. Leo Carruthers, Raeleen Chai-Elsholz, Tatjana Silec (New York, 2011), pp. 95–113.

of the Humber. The fact that one of the scribes who restored a section had access to the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, while the other had access to another copy of the *OEHE*, suggests that the texts were circulating together in some parts of Anglo-Saxon England, but that access to either could not be taken for granted.

The losses to the beginning and end of T seem to have occurred at some point before 1722, when John Smith included variants from T, but not in these sections. Nor do we know when the leaves from the beginnings of some books and chapters were removed. As it is, T begins at *OEHE* I.12, which combines parts of *Historia Ecclesiastica*, chapters 15 and 16, to recount the submission of the Britons to the invading Germanic tribes and the temporary British rally under Ambrosius Aurelianus.[56] Folio 1v begins the account of Augustine's mission, including his fears and mention of Gregory's letter. But all that remains of the second leaf of the manuscript is a tab containing a few words on either side; the story picks up again during Augustine's meeting with Æthelbert at the end of chapter 14 (*HE* I.25).[57] Book I then breaks off toward the end of chapter 18 (*HE* I.34), omitting the results of the war between Æthelfrith and Ædan, as well as the beginning of Book II.[58] As a result, T omits more of Bede's Life of Gregory than the other manuscripts, including the prose translation of Gregory's epitaph; it picks up in the story of the slave boys at the market, just before Gregory sees the 'angelic' slave boys.

Book II in T contains two further lacunae, at chapters 10 and 16 (*HE* 13 and 20).[59] Edwin's council, including the famous metaphor of the sparrow flying through the hall in winter, vanishes, not unlike the bird itself. Readers of T do not learn that Paulinus becomes the bishop of Rochester after fleeing Northumbria, nor do they learn that James stayed in York. Because of the loss of the beginning of Book III, the apostasy of Edwin's successors no longer troubles the Church in Northumbria. Book III in T also lacks the 'addition' from Z about Aidan in III.15 (*HE* III.17) – though it is unclear whether the absence of a supplement can be considered a lack. In Book IV, Wilfrid never teaches the South Saxons to fish.[60] Here, the missing leaf does not correspond to the transition between books, so it may not be the case that this particular leaf was removed for its initials. As I discuss in Chapter 7, T ends dramatically, during Bede's account of the drunken brother.

Although losses from the beginning and end of O nearly correspond with the losses to T, additional losses and interventions affect this manuscript and those associated with it. Like T, O lacks the preface, list of chapter headings and the beginning of Book I. It begins at I.14 (*HE* I.25), with the description of Thanet and Augustine's landing there.[61] Although the start in T is patchier because of the missing leaf, in both this manuscript and T the story picks up toward the beginning of Bede's account of Augustine of Canterbury's mission.

56 *OEHE*, p. 54/2. See Appendix I for comparative charts showing the chapters in the *HE* and *OEHE*.
57 This corresponds to *OEHE*, pp. 56/14–60/1.
58 This corresponds to *OEHE*, pp. 92/17–96/8.
59 This corresponds to *OEHE*, pp. 134/1–136/18; 150/20–152/21.
60 IV.17; *HE* 13; *OEHE*, pp. 304/7–306/19.
61 *OEHE* I.13, p. 56/28.

Readers interested in that mission and more strictly 'English affairs' are in luck.[62] Then again, the Roman background and the advent of the Germanic tribes – which lay the groundwork for Bede's salvation history – are missing from these manuscripts entirely. As a result, T and O fail to present even the carefully limited version of Bede's salvation history that I discuss in Chapter 4. Readers of T familiar with the *Historia Ecclesiastica* might notice the absence of Bede's account of the Pelagian heresy, but O begins just after this point in the narrative.

In addition to the divergent section of Book III, C (N), O and Ca also contain a lacuna in II.5–7, which recount the apostasy of Æthelbert and Sæbert's sons, the departure of Justus and Mellitus from Britain, the punishment of Laurentius by St. Peter, the conversion of Eadbald (as a result of Laurentius's miraculous punishment) and the death of Laurentius. In O and Ca, this gap has been marked out by early-modern annotators, but it was not noticed by either the principal scribes or those who emended O shortly after it was written. In some ways, this lacuna, like the one at the beginning of Book III in T, smooths out the course of conversion in Britain by erasing accounts of apostate sons and the trials of some of the Roman missionaries.

Books II and III in O and Ca are otherwise complete, as is Book IV. Book V in O terminates in the midst of chapter 17, with Wilfrid in Gaul, just before his death, but it does not include the vision warning him of his impending death.[63] Ca is otherwise complete; like B, it includes the preface, table of chapter headings, early parts of Book I and the complete version of Book V, including an *envoi*, drawn partially from Bede's Latin Preface, that T and O lack.

Because O was bound with a fourteenth-century copy of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* some time in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, readers of O who were also literate in Latin would have been able to supply the gaps, and read the beginning and end of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, as well as the section of II.5–7 and the vision of Fursey – along with the materials deliberately omitted by the translators. Otherwise, because we have no record, where O began and ended for medieval readers is, like the state of T, imponderable.

These lacunae interrupt not only the grammar of the manuscripts but also the progress of history, forcing readers to reorient themselves in the text in relation to grammar, place, time and action. Whether the disorienting moment occurs with the turning of a page as in T, or mid-line as with the gap in II.5–7 of O and Ca, confusion follows until the reader finds her place again. While some of these lacunae in the *OEHE* manuscripts have been marked by early-modern annotations, others have not. Pausing to consider the lacunae not merely as losses or flaws, but as facts of material textuality and part of the readerly experience, creates a space in which one confronts the act of reading history as such.[64] Creating readerly disorientation is a common

[62] Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', p. 232.

[63] *HE* V.19; *OEHE* V.17, p. 462/4.

[64] As I discuss in the next chapter, a fourteenth-century annotator added running titles and chapter numberings in T. While these do not correspond specifically to the gaps in the manuscript, they help readers reorient themselves. Once again, we do not know whether the losses occurred

strategy among writers of speculative fiction, as a way to force readers to enter the other world of the story and to accommodate themselves to the alternate reality of the text. Among early English historical manuscripts, such disorientation is obviously an accident. The effect, however, increases readerly self-consciousness, as one strives to locate subject, time and place – much like Dryhthelm's struggle to identify where he is during his vision in Book V. Dryhthelm travels from a place that is 'not hell' to a place that is 'not heaven', or at least 'not as [he] thinks', anyway.[65] Whereas Dryhthelm's guide eventually explains where he was and what he saw, those readers of the material texts of the *OEHE* unable to access another copy of either version have to find their place and end their confusion by piecing together the incomplete evidence in front of them. The self-conscious act of finding one's place and re-establishing meaning across the mostly invisible fissures in the texts (the fragment of folio 2 in T signals one loss among many) exaggerates the cognitive process of reading, of making sense of a text. By exposing the task of the reader as an act of emplacement, interpretation and completion, the lacunae in the material texts reveal the relationships between origin and destination, anonymous translator, reader and the physical book.

While editors perform the invaluable service of identifying and repairing losses, modern readers of the *OEHE* should keep the eventfulness of the material texts in mind. Several of the earliest scribes and readers of the *OEHE* engaged literally and actively in acts of interpretation and completion. Their efforts provide clues to the state of Latin learning in early England, as well as the development of scripts from the early-tenth to the late-eleventh centuries. In some cases, they form important reminders of what we do not know about the *OEHE*, early England and early English textual culture. In other cases, they tell us something about the interests and expectations of readers, about the historical states of the manuscripts and their availability (or the lack thereof). They were certainly widely disseminated around England in the medieval period. As I discuss in Chapters 8 and 9, the *OEHE* manuscripts continued to be used and annotated throughout the Middle Ages and into the early-modern period, providing further information about the importance, reception and uses of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the Old English translation of it.

before or after these interventions.

[65] *HE* and *OEHE* V.12. See Chapter 7.

2

Backgrounds, Contexts and the History of Scholarship

> The organization of English society had undergone few material changes in the period between Bede and Alfred, and there are many passages in which Bede's indications of rank or office become clearer through a rendering into ninth-century English. But intrinsically, the translation of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* is the least interesting of the works which can be attributed to Alfred. In substance, it is simply a close rendering of the Latin text, and it contains little, if any, extraneous matter of the kind which in other works illustrates the character of Alfred's thought. . . . That the version was produced under Alfred's influence need not be doubted, but its right to a place in the Alfredian canon is by no means secure.[1]

Frank Stenton's summary assessment of Anglo-Saxon England and the *OEHE*, first published in 1943, reflects the scholarly consensus of the mid-twentieth century. In the intervening years, however, the grand narrative of migration and conversion that Bede presents in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* itself has come into question, as has the assumption of material and social continuity between earlier and later Anglo-Saxon England. Patrick Wormald's introductory essay to *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* reflects this change in thought and provides one of the key reasons for it. According to Wormald,

> most textbooks on Anglo-Saxon England treat its long history, from the fifth to the eleventh century, as one period. It ought to be divided into two (at least). The best of many reasons is that a single kingdom of the English came to exist only after, and up to a point as a result of, the Viking invasions of the ninth century.[2]

Reconsidering the *OEHE* in light of this shift in thought about Anglo-Saxon history, as well as in light of developments in our understanding of paleography, material textuality, early English language and literature reveals the *OEHE* to be something much more than the banal, literal translation that Stenton associates unproblematically with Alfred's influence. This chapter presents an overview of the history of scholarship on the *OEHE*, and discusses the changes and continuities in Anglo-Saxon history relevant to Bede's account and the position of Bede's Old English translators in the late-ninth or early-tenth centuries.

1 Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 273.

2 Patrick Wormald, 'Anglo-Saxon Society and its Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge, 1991), p. 1.

The OEHE and Anglo-Saxon Studies

Although we have a clear understanding of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the ultimate source for the *OEHE*, the unclear origins and anonymity of the translation, combined with the gaps in our knowledge of the text's transmission, complicate our ability to place the text precisely in its contexts in later Anglo-Saxon England. Contrary to Stenton, there are significant differences between the times in which Bede was writing in the early-eighth century, and the late-ninth or early-tenth century when the *OEHE* was translated. As historical moments in which to situate the translation, however, there are also significant differences between 883 and 930. By no means are these problems unique to the *OEHE*; rather, they belong to a set of questions faced regularly by students of medieval languages, literatures, histories and manuscripts. But the stakes are surprisingly high when one examines these questions in relation to the *OEHE*: because of the place of manuscripts Zu and T in our understanding of the development of Anglo-Saxon square minuscule, and because of questions surrounding schools of Old English prose, as well as because of the controversy surrounding the development of English national identity, the dating of *OEHE* affects, and is affected by, scholarship formative of Old English studies as a discipline on several levels.

The question of the origin of the *OEHE* has been inextricably bound up with the question of whether the *OEHE* was part of King Alfred the Great's program of translation, part of an alternative Mercian tradition, or something else altogether. Although the *OEHE* has not been considered the work of Alfred himself for many years, it continues to be associated with his program. What we know as fact is fairly limited: the *OEHE* was translated anonymously. Paleographical and linguistic evidence coincide to suggest that the translation was made by the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, but permits no greater precision. The linguistic evidence also suggests that the main translator wrote in the Anglian dialect of Old English (or in a dialect heavily influenced by Anglian). However, the dialect of all surviving manuscripts is predominantly late West Saxon. These paleographical and linguistic conclusions have been examined and re-examined over the last century, at least partly because both depend on comparative evidence, the body of which has changed, but which still remains too limited to substantiate definitive claims.

There is no contemporary documentary evidence connecting the *OEHE* with King Alfred. Asser does not mention it; the king himself does not claim it in any surviving document. The earliest connection between the *OEHE* and the king we have is Ælfric of Eynsham's attribution of the text to Alfred in his homily on Gregory the Great about a hundred years later.[3] William of Malmsbury repeats this attribution in his *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*.[4] Both

[3] Ælfric, Homily IX, *Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, pp. 72–80.

[4] William of Malmsbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 1887), I, p. 132.

Layamon and Gerald of Wales were aware of the *OEHE*, but it remains unclear to whom these writers attributed the translation.[5] In the early-modern period, scholars from Parker to Wheelock accepted the attribution to King Alfred. It was Henry Sweet, in the 1876 edition of his *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, who first called Ælfric's attribution of the translation into question. Although he prints the Cædmon episode under the heading of 'King Alfred', he notes at line 52, that 'the word-order is quite un-English. This passage alone is enough to prove that the translation is only nominally Alfred's'.[6]

In the first volume of his edition (1890), Thomas Miller presented a more substantial challenge to the attribution. As I have noted, Miller demonstrated that the dialect of the original translation was Mercian, specifically Anglian, proving to most that the *OEHE* could not have been the work of King Alfred himself. This is especially apparent in the vocabulary and orthography of T and Zu. Independent analyses by Max Deutschbein, Jacob Schipper and Frederick Klaeber substantiated Miller's claims of Mercian dialect over the course of the next decade.[7] While J. M. Hart followed Sweet more closely, and approached the question of authorship via translation style in 1901, his findings essentially supported Miller's argument against the king's authorship. Neither Deutschbein nor Klaeber, however, were comfortable with the idea of separating the *OEHE* from Alfred or his program.[8] Deutschbein argued for the existence of two separate translations: one Mercian and one by King Alfred, while Klaeber saw the question of the king's 'hands-on' involvement as immaterial. According to Klaeber,

> Whether the royal author himself had any immediate share in the task of translating or not, we may properly continue to call the Bede an Alfredian work. It was through the great King's active initiative and helpful inspiration that the great and beautiful work of the Father of English learning was placed within the reach of his English people.[9]

Accepting the arguments of dialectal difference, but also unwilling to separate the translation from Alfred's court, in 1907 Hecht suggested that Wærferth made the translation for teaching, a suggestion later challenged by Simeon Potter.[10] While our understanding of Old English dialects, as well as the

5 Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae* (I.6), 'omnes libros Anglicos Bedæ, Rabani, regis Aluredi', *The Journey Through Wales and Description of Wales*, ed. Lewis Thorpe (New York and London, 1978); and Layamon: 'he nom þa englisca boc þa makede seint Beda', *Layamon's Brut, edited from British Museum MS Cotton Caligula A.IX and British Museum MS Cotton Otho C.XIII, I: Text (lines 1–8020)*, ed. G. L. Brook and R. F. Leslie, Early English Text Society, os 250 (London and New York, 1963), line 16.

6 Henry Sweet, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader* (Oxford, 1876), pp. 197–8. The Cædmon selection from 'Alfred's Beda' is selection X, pp. 46–50.

7 Max Deutschbein, 'Dialektischte in der ags. Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 26 (1901), 169–244; Klaeber, 'Notes', pp. lxxii–lxxiii.

8 J. M. Hart, 'Rhetoric in the Translation of Bede', in *An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall in Honor of his 75th Birthday* (New York,1901; rpt. 1969).

9 Klaeber, 'Notes', p. lxxiii.

10 H. Hecht, *Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, v, Abt. 2; Potter, 'Relation'.

relationship between Wessex and Mercia, has advanced over the course of the intervening century, it is important to recognize that when Miller raised the question that more than one tradition of translation existed in early England, he opened a debate about schools of thought and attitudes toward royal power that still occupy scholars today.

In addition to raising questions about the king's authorship on account of dialect, Miller also suggested that three translators were involved in the text as we have it. Miller posits this claim on the divergence between the manuscripts in III.16–20, which I outline in the previous chapter. Miller suggests that this section went missing, and was restored by two additional 'editors', one for each theoretical group.[11] In 1930, Potter also challenged Miller's analysis of the variant section in Book III, arguing that it was restored by one scribe, who discovered that a part was missing from Miller's Z group, and retranslated it.[12] J. J. Campbell took up the question again in 1952. He essentially agreed with Potter that there was only one additional translator, then strengthened the case based on developments in our knowledge of Mercian vocabulary. Dorothy Whitelock agreed with Campbell in 1962 – so a consensus formed on this particular question: the original translation of this section survives in the B and T texts, while someone else restored most of this section, plus an extra bit about Aidan, to the common exemplar for the other manuscripts, C, O and Ca (which still lack Bede's account of St. Fursey).

However, because of the perceived inconsistency of style in the *OEHE*, three related authorship debates persisted: multiple authorship beyond the section in Book III, the possibility that the mixed dialect and style of the text derived the Old English tradition of glossing, and the examination of style as a sign of authorship. At a roundtable hosted by the Modern Language Association of America in 1892, J. W. Pearce argued for multiple authors, including King Alfred himself, based on the variation between literal and free styles.[13] Pearce's respondent, Frances March, asserted the idea that 'translation' by the king had already long been thought to imply teamwork (a view shared by Klaeber) stating:

> It has been known, stated, and understood that King Alfred, who had all kinds of business on hand, was helped by his Bishops and scholars to make his translations, and the process by which it was done implies that he did not create the translation word by word, so to speak, but that he listened to, looked over, corrected, approved, or recomposed at his pleasure the work of his co-laborers.[14]

11 *OEHE*, pp. xxiv–xxv. See also Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', pp. 227–61; and 'Chapter-Headings', pp. 263–84.

12 Potter, 'Relation', p. 33.

13 J. W. Pearce, Francis A. March and A. Marshall Elliott, 'Did King Alfred Translate the *Historia Ecclesiastica*?', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 7 (1892), vi–xiii.

14 Pearce *et al.*, 'Alfred', p. ix; Klaeber's response to Pearce was: 'Though all of Dr. Pearce's arguments cannot be endorsed, the theory of joint authorship appears indeed the only one that explains the undeniable inequalities of workmanship, of style, of spirit. But in order to reconcile the latter with the very noteworthy fact of surprising agreement, as to minor matters, in portions widely separated and of a widely different character, we have to assume that there was a guiding spirit, perhaps a correcting hand and a model which was emulated with varying degrees of success', Klaeber, 'Notes', p. lxxiii.

Despite the tremendous amount of energy subsequently devoted to this problem, March's response to Pearce articulates what remains an extremely popular position on this question over one hundred years later.

In addition to the possibilities that the king himself worked with his group of translators, that the group of translators worked with royal supervision, or that the inspiration of the king alone fostered prose translation and explained the *OEHE*, the debate continued on the stylistic front. In 1916, P. Fijn van Draat reconsidered the authorship of the *OEHE* based on the rhythmic prose and argues against the idea that the translator of the *OEHE* and King Alfred's *Pastoral Care* are the same person.[15] In his 1947 essay 'Synonyms in the Old English Bede', Sherman Kuhn took up Jacob Schipper's suggestion from 1898 that the mixture of dialects present in the *OEHE* manuscripts may derive from the translator's use of a copy of the Latin with interlinear glosses in Mercian, though no such manuscript survives.[16] Kuhn returns to the issue again in 1972, perhaps in response to Whitelock's 1962 Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, the printed version of which has come to be one of the most authoritative studies of the *OEHE* since Miller.[17] In it, Whitelock not only refutes the idea that a glossed manuscript contributed to the *OEHE*, but also modifies her own statement in her Jarrow Lecture, 'After Bede', to admit that '"there *can* be . . . doubt" that the translation of Bede was part of the King's scheme' (emphasis added).[18] However, the harder one presses on the *OEHE*, the more complicated the picture becomes. Whitelock's next step, her analysis of the chapter headings, bears out such a claim.

In 1974, Whitelock attacked the problem of the table of chapter headings, which survives in only two manuscripts – one from each group of Miller's stemma. Analyzing style, lexis and content, she revealed that the chapter headings do not accurately reflect the omissions from the translation in Book I, or any one surviving manuscript. Based on the similar vocabulary of the chapter headings, but inferior handling of Latin in the translation of them, she suggests that a third translator worked on the chapter headings, perhaps a student or colleague of the main translator.[19] Whitelock's analysis makes clear the good possibility that the *OEHE* as we have it was the work of three translators, two of whom worked together, and one of whom restored a missing passage. At the same time, however, her study of the chapter headings compromises Miller's stemma irrevocably, leading her to conclude that 'the

15 P. Fijn van Draat, 'The Authority of the Old English Bede: A Study in Rhythm', *Anglia* 39 (1916), 319–46.

16 Sherman M. Kuhn, 'Synonyms in the Old English Bede', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 46.2 (1947), 168–76. *Die Geschichte und der gegenwärtige Stand der Forschung über König Alfreds Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Jacob Schipper (Vienna, 1898). Janet Bately and Gregory Waite confirm Whitelock's critique of Kuhn: Janet Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred', *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988), 93–138; Janet Bately, 'The Alfredian Canon Revisited', in *Alfred the Great*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 107–20; Waite, 'Vocabulary'.

17 Sherman M. Kuhn, 'The Authorship of the Old English Bede Revisited', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 73 (1972), 172–80.

18 Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', p. 250, n. 16.

19 Campbell, 'The Old English Bede: Book III', p. 381; Whitelock, 'Chapter-Headings', p. 270.

whole question requires reconsideration'.[20]

Whitelock's student Raymond Grant took up the question in the 1980s, as did Janet Bately and Gregory Waite. All three focus on and develop comparative linguistic and paleographical approaches suggested by earlier debates and research. Grant takes on the relationship between the manuscripts that Miller claims preserve the 'original translation', B and T.[21] Unfortunately, Grant's analysis demonstrates that the connection between these two manuscripts is more tenuous than Miller thought, thereby further troubling the relationships among the surviving manuscripts.

Aspects of the debate between Janet Bately and Gregory Waite break down along the lines of the 'Mercian school' versus the 'Alfredian school', a debate that has been running throughout the scholarly history I have been tracing in this section, and which I should pause to articulate more clearly before outlining their work. While scholars such as Deutschbein and Klaeber worked up hypotheses that brought Mercia to the king's court or which emphasized the king's inspirational impetus, others, including Miller, Van Draat and especially Rudolf Vleeskruyer focus on the Mercian angle. Vleeskruyer's provocative, frequently criticized and oft-quoted study of *The Life of St. Chad* from 1953 attempts to identify the *OEHE* with other early Mercian writings on the basis of vocabulary, and thereby to establish a pre-Alfredian school of Old English prose in Mercia.[22] The *OEHE*'s vocabulary forms one of the baselines for this possible grouping, which includes the *Old English Martyrology*, the *Blickling Homiliary*, the *Lives of Chad, Guthlac*, and possibly *Mary of Egypt*, among others. Arguments in favor of an earlier school depend upon the small amount of evidence available from eighth-century Mercia, which, as Michelle Brown points out, includes some masterful book production.[23] Related lines of inquiry involve a massive body of scholarship that seeks to determine the historicity of the claims about the destruction of learning in Alfred's *Preface* to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. This, in turn, involves examining the impact of the sacks of major monasteries and the Scandinavian settlements on ninth-century book production in Latin and Old English. Malcolm Godden, Janet Bately, Simon Keynes, Patrick Wormald, David Dumville, Sarah Foot, Kathleen Davis, Jennifer Morrish, David Pratt, Richard Gameson, Dorothy Whitelock and many others have weighed in on these questions, which have also become bound up with issues of the role of Alfred and his literacy program in construction of English national

20 Whitelock, 'Chapter-Headings', p. 284. See also Rowley, 'Nostalgia and the Rhetoric of Lack'.

21 Grant, *B Text*.

22 R. Vleeskruyer, *The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily* (Amsterdam, 1953). R. D. Fulk has revisited these ideas recently in 'Anglian Features in Late West Saxon', in *Analyzing Older English*, Studies in English Language, ed. Ricardo Bermúdez-Otero, David Denison, Christopher McCully and Emma Moore (Cambridge, forthcoming).

23 Michelle Brown, 'Mercian Manuscripts? The "Tiberius" Group and its Historical Context', in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (London and New York, 2001), pp. 278–91; and S. Kuhn, 'From Canterbury to Lichfield', *Speculum* 23 (1948), 591–629.

identity.[24] I return to this issue in greater detail in the next chapter; however, it is important to recognize that because of the relatively early date of the *OEHE*, its content and the sheer amount of linguistic and paleographical evidence it presents, any assertion about the origins of the text, its association with King Alfred's literacy program or a Mercian school of translation engages the ongoing debates about these related, often highly polemic, issues.

A wide range of historians and archaeologists are looking at material evidence, charters, the Burghal Hidage, royal correspondence and other sources to get a better sense of exactly how Alfred and his successors pulled their resources together to centralize power on the ground and among his allies, providing a tremendous amount of valuable information about the ways in which Alfred and his successors reshaped the material infrastructure of early England. However, I question whether such evidence can be translated directly into claims about their control over intellectual activity and book production throughout England – especially since we have so little evidence. The very fact that we remain unable to identify the *scriptoria* to which Alfred sent copies of his *Pastoral Care* for wider dissemination should enjoin caution against asserting the ideological uniformity of all early English literary culture.[25]

[24] M. Godden, 'Did King Alfred Write Anything?', *Medium Ævum* 76.1 (2007), 1–23; J. Bately, 'Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything? The Integrity of the Alfredian Canon Revisited', *Medium Ævum* 78.2 (2009), 189–215; Bately, 'Old English Prose'; Bately, 'Alfredian Canon'; Simon Keynes, 'The Power of the Written Word: Alfredian England 871–99', in *Alfred the Great*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 175–97. See also Simon Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 143–201; David Dumville, 'English Libraries before 1066: Use and Abuse of Manuscript Evidence', in *Insular Latin Studies*, ed. Michael Herren, Papers in Mediaeval Studies 1 (Toronto, 1981), pp. 153–78, and *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Politics, Culture and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Cambridge, 1992); Richard Gameson, 'Alfred the Great and the Destruction and Production of Christian Books', *Scriptorium* 49 (1995), 180–21; Jennifer Morrish, 'King Alfred's Letter as a Source on Learning in England', in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1986), pp. 87–107; Patrick Wormald, 'Bede, the Bretwaldas and the Origins of the Gens Anglorum', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1983), pp. 99–129, 'The Venerable Bede and the "Church of the English"', in *The English Religious Tradition and the Genius of Anglicanism*, ed. Geoffrey Rowell (Oxford and Nashville, 1992), pp. 13–32, and 'Engla lond: The Making of an Allegiance', *Journal of the History of Sociology* 7 (1994), 1–24; Sarah Foot, 'The Making of Angelcynn: English Identity before the Norman Conquest', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th ser. 6 (1996), 25–49; Kathleen Davis, 'National Writing in the Ninth Century: A Reminder for Postcolonial Thinking about the Nation', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28 (1998), 611–37; Nicole Discenza, 'The Old English Bede and the Construction of Anglo-Saxon Authority', *Anglo-Saxon England* 31 (2002), 69–80; David Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge, 2007); Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede'. For more cautious views, see Paul Hyams, 'Feud and the State in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Journal of British Studies* 40 (2001), 1–43; Pauline Stafford, 'The Reign of Æthelred II: A Study in the Limitations on Royal Policy and Action', in *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. David Hill, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 59 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 15–46. Most recently, George Molyneaux challenges Wormald's approach, in particular in 'The Old English Bede: English Ideology or Christian Instruction?', *English Historical Review* 124, no. 511 (2009), 1289–1323.

[25] Nicholas Brooks, 'Alfredian Government: The West Saxon Inheritance', in *Alfred the Great*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 153–74; *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church 400–1066* (London, 2000), and *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597–1066* (Leicester, 1984); Simon Keynes, 'Alfred and the Mercians', in *Kings, Currency and Alliances: Southern England in the 9th Century*, ed. David Dumville and Mark Blackburn (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 1–47;

In the absence of documentary evidence, linguistic evidence and the analysis of translation style, neither of which is definitive, have had to bear the burden of (relative) proof. Gregory Waite takes up the question of the techniques of word formation employed by the translator as suggested by Sweet and echoed by Klaeber in the late-nineteenth century. As Klaeber puts it, 'our text abounds with "unnatural words"', a phrase he takes from Sweet. These are

> mostly derivatives and compounds modeled closely after Latin patterns. A number of them can scarcely be said to form a genuine part of the Old English vocabulary. Still, we must beware of condemning these coinages indiscriminately as illegitimate. The necessity of finding equivalents for certain Latin terms heavily taxed the inventiveness of the Anglo-Saxon scholar. At the same time, the vehicle of Old English prose was still in its formative stage, and the genius of the language imposed hardly any limits on the inherited principle of forming compounds.[26]

As Waite points out, Helmut Gneuss also discussed the need for the study of Old English vocabulary, and took up the question of vocabulary in later Anglo-Saxon England. Waite's analysis presents an exhaustive study of the compounding, prefixing, suffixing and doubling, as well as the use of unique words, rare words and words shared by the *OEHE* translator and Ælfric. He concludes that the text's lexical affinities are

> with the . . . homiletic tradition exemplified by the *Blickling* and *Vercelli Homilies*, and *Saints' Lives* such as *Chad* and *Guthlac*. From an evolutionary point of view the *OEHE* may be seen as a transitional work, being an outgrowth of the early vernacular writing of the glossators and glossary writers, and a precursor of the more mature vernacular traditions (largely independent of one another) initiated by Alfred on the one hand and the monastic reformers of Edgar's reign on the other.[27]

Waite's analysis and conclusions warrant serious consideration, especially since they are based on exhaustive lexical data. In fact, although Janet Bately comes to different conclusions about the idea of these works being 'early' or 'Mercian', she remains critical of sweeping claims about Alfred's influence (or lack thereof), and regularly cites Waite's work in her discussions of the vocabulary of the *OEHE*.

Bately re-examines scholarship on the *OEHE* in several different essays on Old English prose, as well as in the introduction to her Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile edition of T. In one of her early influential studies, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred', she attempts to resolve the question of whether the manuscript evidence can prove the existence of an Old English prose tradition before King Alfred. While she clearly determines

James Campbell, 'The United Kingdom of England: The Anglo-Saxon Achievement', in *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, ed. Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (London and New York, 1995), pp. 31–47; and *Edward the Elder 899–924*, ed. N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill (London and New York, 2001). Pratt and Wormald, in his later writings, especially assert that Alfred had more control over literary production than the evidence bears. Pratt, for instance argues that Alfred mustered 'nothing less than the full monopolization of authorship in the person of the king, an extreme extension of West Saxon courtly trends', Pratt, *Political Thought*, p. 131.

26 Klaeber, 'Notes', p. lxxii.

27 Waite, 'Vocabulary', p. 8.

that there was, she disagrees that the tradition was particularly Mercian. In the process, she confirms the linguistic separation between the *OEHE* and the texts translated by or at the command of Alfred. Her commitment to paleographical limits for determining dates leads her to some relatively cautious conclusions. She warns readers that 'the fact that Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* is a text whose translation might well have been desired by Alfred is not proof that the surviving translation was made at the king's request'.[28] Focusing on the manuscript evidence, she also emphasizes that 'given the small amount of material that has come down to us and the manner of its transmission, the terms "early Mercian" in the context of vocabulary virtually means "not found in the Orosius or the works of Alfred"'.[29] Most recently, in her response to Malcolm Godden's challenge to the Alfredian authorship of other early Old English texts, Bately omits any mention of the *OEHE*.[30]

Bately's work brings the question of the manuscript evidence to the fore, as she uses it to instill a healthy dose of caution into the study of early English prose. It remains the case that many scholars of poetry and anonymous homilies often attribute their objects of study to periods earlier than the surviving manuscript evidence; in that sense, Vleeskruyer's claims about the *Life of Chad*, which he reads as an early text surviving in a late manuscript, is in ample, if not good, company. And while Jane Roberts has provided useful lists of words that can reasonably be described as 'early' – most of which occur frequently in *OEHE* – increasing scholarly awareness of the ways in which the Anglo-Saxons used archaic words enjoins caution.[31] The manuscript evidence, as Bately demonstrates, does not establish concrete connections either way.

Despite the caution and hesitation on the parts of Whitelock and Bately, many scholars of Old English prose continue to associate the *OEHE* with the king's program. As Simon Keynes puts it, in the process of clarifying the canon of 'Alfredian' prose over the course of the last century, 'Alfred may have lost the Old English *Bede* and the Old English *Orosius*, though neither work was necessarily removed from his circle'.[32] Although Keynes has demonstrated that Alfred created a court that synthesized West Saxon

[28] Bately, 'Old English Prose', pp. 103–4.

[29] Ibid., p. 109.

[30] Bately, 'Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything?'; Godden, 'Did King Alfred Write Anything?' In their 2009 edition of the Old English Boethius, Godden and Susan Irvine challenge the notion of the Alfredian canon further. They argue, despite the preface, that the Old English Boethius 'was the work of an unknown writer of substantial learning, not necessarily connected with King Alfred or his court, but working some time in the period 890 to about 930, probably in Southern England'. *The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Versions of Boethius's 'De Consolatione Philosophiae'*, I, ed. Malcolm Godden and Susan Irvine (Oxford, 2009), p. 146. See also the section entitled 'The Relation of the Old English Boethius to Other Alfredian Texts', pp. 135–51.

[31] Jane Roberts, 'The Old English Prose Translation of Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*', in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1986), pp. 363–79; see also Janet Thorman, 'The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Poems and the Making of the English Nation', in *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, ed. Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles (Gainesville, FL, 1997), pp. 60–85, at p. 65.

[32] Keynes, 'Power of the Written Word', pp. 179–80.

and Mercian culture,[33] the texts Alfred and his team of translators produced were predominantly early West Saxon. Even taking into consideration the dialectal heterogeneity of Alfred's literary language, the *OEHE* differs.[34] Including the *OEHE* in the king's circle has been a matter of convention, or as Malcolm Godden puts it, the 'Alfred myth', rather than documented historical fact.[35] No incontrovertible evidence exists either way in relation to the *OEHE*. The paleographical window, initiated by a series of excerpts dating to *c.* 883–930, allows the possibility of composition before, during, and after Alfred's reign. Unsurprisingly, scholarly positioning in relation to the *OEHE* tends to correspond to what Paul Hyams and James Campbell call 'maximal' and 'minimal' views of Anglo-Saxon England. That is, scholars who argue for Alfred's primacy in the construction of English national identity place the *OEHE* more or less firmly within Alfred's circle despite the lack of definitive evidence. These positions echo those of Klaeber, Deutschbein and March: either the king's charisma inspired the *OEHE*, the king's Mercian connections brought the competent scholars with the relevant dialect to court, or the king worked with or supervised his group of translators. Many other linguistic and stylistic studies have focused on passive constructions, relative clauses and transitional literacy; these often eschew the question of Alfred's program altogether, or at least make it secondary.[36] However, as Christopher Cannon suggests in his recent book on early Middle English, *The Grounds of English Literature*, the pull of a school – in this case, the idea of something like Alfred's program – is incredibly seductive, because it places a text in context and associates it with a tradition.[37] But what questions or possibilities do we eliminate if we envision all surviving Old English prose as part of a highly centralized program enjoined by Alfred or his successors? It remains possible that the translator of the *OEHE* lived and worked at one of the *scriptoria* that survived the tumultuous, often destructive course of the ninth century, possibly even at one of the unidentified *scriptoria* to which Alfred sent his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* for copying. It is worth remembering that Bede perceived himself to be living on the periphery of the known world;[38]

33 Keynes, 'Alfred and the Mercians'.

34 Carolin Schreiber, 'Dialects in Contact in Ninth-Century England', in *Bookmarks from the Past: Studies in Honour of Helmut Gneuss*, ed. Lucia Kornexl and Ursula Lenker (Frankfurt, 2003), pp. 1–31, especially p. 24.

35 'Is Alfredian authorship real or just another part of the Alfred myth?', Godden, 'Did King Alfred Write Anything?', p. 6.

36 M. Kilpiö, *Passive Constructions in Old English Translations from Latin, with Special Reference to the Old English Historia Ecclesiastica and the Pastoral Care.* Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 49 (Helsinki, 1989). Rafal Molencki, 'Some Observations on Relative Clauses in the Old English Version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 20 (1988), 83–99; Ursula Schaefer, 'Dialogue between Orality and Literacy: Considerations on Linguistic Strategies in the Old English *Historia Ecclesiastica*', in *Dialogische Strukturen/ Dialogic Structures: Festschrift für Willi Erzgräber zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed.Thomas Kühn and Ursula Schaefer (Tübingen, 1996), 17–33; C. Ehler, *Verschriftung und Verschriftlichung des Altenglischen. Eine methodisch-exemplarische Untersuchung.* Neue Studien zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik 76 (Frankfurt, 1999).

37 Christopher Cannon, *The Grounds of English Literature* (Oxford, 2004), especially his 'Introduction'.

38 Diarmuid Scully, 'Location and Occupation: Bede, Gildas and the Roman Vision of Britain',

perhaps Bede's main Old English translator saw himself in much the same way. His work may have simply been in dialogue with, rather than part of, the work of Alfred's circle. If so, what new light might the investigation of such a dialogue shed on what we know about the writing of history in early England, or about early England itself?

Contexts: Continuity and Change in Anglo-Saxon England

Scholarship over the last thirty years has revealed a tremendous amount of information about early English history, manuscripts and literature, some of which challenges Bede's narrative of the arrival and conversion of the English. Most of this evidence challenges Stenton's claim that there was little change between Bede's day and the late-ninth century. There were both changes and continuities, all of which are crucial to understanding the contexts in which the *OEHE* was produced. In fact, the *OEHE* invites a discussion of continuity and change because, as a translation, it reflects some of the significant changes that took place between early and late Anglo-Saxon England. At the same time, it may also reveal traces of continuity in Christian, monastic and intellectual culture that can be discerned in parts of southwestern Mercia across two protracted events usually construed as major dividing points in the history of early Britain: the Germanic and then Scandinavian migrations and settlements. Both of these protracted events brought about major change, as well as set the scene for new waves of conversion to Christianity in Britain. Both are highly relevant to understanding the contexts of the *OEHE*. First, traces of the continuity of Christianity are visible in western Britain during and immediately after the period of the Germanic migrations, that is, between the British Church and the developing Anglo-Saxon Church. These are directly relevant to Bede's conversion narrative, as well as the Old English revision of it, especially in Book I. Second, there is clear evidence of continuity in monastic and intellectual culture at Mercian centers of learning during the period of Scandinavian incursions and settlement in the ninth century. The survival of these centers in the ninth century may have also preserved awareness of the earlier continuities, the ancient nature of the traditions or foundations in the West Midlands. These continuities have a direct impact on the historical contexts in which Bede's main Old English translator lived and worked.

Although continuity and change are often presented as binaries, both come into play in my attempts to understand better the intellectual, cultural and historical contexts of the *OEHE*. One of the main premises of this book is that the dramatic changes wrought during the ninth century shaped the main translator's perspective, and consequently his representation of invasion, conquest and conversion. Because the linguistic evidence suggests that

in *Proceedings of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists: Anglo-Saxon Traces*, ed. Jane Roberts and Leslie Webster, Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies 4 (Tempe, AZ, forthcoming), pp. 251–80, at p. 253.

Bede's main Old English translator was most likely Mercian, the possible continuities that can be traced from British Christianity in parts of Mercia may have also contributed to his reading of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. This remains the case whether he worked independently in a Mercian center or went to work under the auspices of Alfred's program in a center in Wessex.

The increasing emphasis on the roles of the British, Pictish and Irish in the history of the early British Isles by scholars such as John Hines, David Dumville and Barbara Yorke has widened the perspective from which we can view the choices made by Bede's English translator.[39] We have more evidence to help us think about the ways in which his position in the late-ninth or early-tenth century might have influenced his attitudes toward and knowledge of history as much as it colored the dialect in which he wrote. Although the archaeological and onomastic information that has come to light over the course of the last thirty years is not conclusive, it suggests greater continuity in Christianity in the West Midlands than Bede's narrative allows. Although Bede has been accused of suppressing this information, it may be that he had no access to it.[40] However, the Mercian affinities of Bede's translator suggest that he may have – which may, in turn, suggest that his knowledge about the British Church motivated the changes he makes to Bede's account of the early conversion of England.

Because this possibility may be unfamiliar to some audiences, I will summarize the evidence in some detail. The evidence as to the state and continuity of the British Church in England not only questions Bede's account of migration and conversion, it also sheds light on Bede's account of Augustine's dealings with the British bishops, as well as the persistence of Latin along with Christianity in Britain. It provides the necessary background for a fuller understanding of the scenes of conversion and translation in early England.

Historians and archaeologists including Patrick Sims-Williams, Stephen Bassett, Nicholas Brooks, Richard Sharpe and John Blair have been building the case for greater continuity between the British and Anglo-Saxon Churches than was previously thought. Their arguments are based on a combination of evidence including 'eccles' place-names, burial practices, the sites of episcopal churches, stone inscriptions, charters, and cults of martyrs.[41] Given the

[39] Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain: 600–800*, Religion, Politics and Society in Britain I (Harlow, 2006), D. Dumville, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1993), and John Hines, 'The Becoming of the English: Identity, Material Culture and Language in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 7 (1994), 49–59 and 'Welsh and English: Mutual Origins in Post-Roman Britain?', *Studia Celtica* 34 (2000), 81–103.

[40] *The Letters of Gregory the Great, Translated, with Introduction and Notes*, ed. and trans. John R. C. Martyn, 3 vols., Medieval Sources in Translation 4 (Toronto, 2004), I, p. 65, n.177 and p. 68; Rob Meens, 'A Background to Augustine's Mission to Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994), 5–17, at p. 6; S. Bassett, 'Church and Diocese in the West Midlands', in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. J. Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), p. 39.

[41] Nicholas Brooks, 'From British to English Christianity: Deconstructing Bede's Interpretation of Conversion', in *Conversion and Colonization in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. N. Howe and C. Karkov (Tempe, AZ, 2006), pp. 1–30; Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 3 (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 54–86; Richard Sharpe, 'Martyrs and Local Saints in Late Antique Britain', in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford, 2002), pp. 75–154; and

general acceptance of the northern and eastern leanings of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, filling in some of the gaps in our knowledge of the conversion of England with archaeological, onomastic, textual and genetic evidence remains crucial to our understanding of the history of the island as a whole, as well as the events that may have differed from those recounted by Bede. Such evidence helps us to better understand Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* itself, allowing us to clarify what happened in areas for which he had no local sources, especially Mercia. Bede himself tells us that he did not consult a Mercian when composing the *Historia Ecclesiastica*; this is probably because of the political tensions and partially fortified border between Northumbria and Mercia during Bede's lifetime.[42] Instead, he tells us his source for information on Mercia came from Lastingham, which is in present-day Yorkshire.[43] This gap is important to remember when considering the perspective of Bede's English translator, and suggests that the material evidence from the West Midlands may shed light on some of the translator's choices.

As Brooks points out, 'it is in exactly these west midland areas – where Bede was ignorant – that we are beginning to find evidence for continuities between the British and Anglo-Saxon churches, and perhaps for British contributions to the English church'.[44] The theory of 'eccles' place-names was first put forward by E. Ekwall in 1922, then developed and refined by Kenneth H. Jackson, Kenneth Cameron and Margaret Gelling.[45] These place-names probably mark the survival of British ecclesiastical foundations. The form of the word necessitates that it was borrowed from the Latin via the Welsh **eglēs*, because a British sound substitution has taken place in the process of borrowing; this sound change would not take place if the word had been borrowed directly into Old English.[46] Cameron identified fourteen sites; this had almost doubled, with twenty-seven forms of 'Eccles' or 'Eccles-' identified by the time of Brooks's essay in 2007. These names survive in some density in Mercia, as well as western Yorkshire and Lancashire. In contrast, as Brooks stresses, they are 'entirely absent from English Deira and the Tyne-Wear core of Bernicia' – that is, absent from the areas covered in detail in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[47]

John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005). For a cautious assessment of this idea, see Yorke, *Conversion*, pp. 118–21. Yorke's point about the ways in which the marginalized position of the British may have inhibited their ability to convert their Anglo-Saxon conquerors is especially important.

42 N. J. Higham, *The Kingdom of Northumbria: AD 350–1100* (Stroud, 1993).

43 *HE*, 'Preface', pp. 4–5. See also N. Brooks, 'The Formation of the Mercian Kingdom', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. Steven Bassett, Studies in the Early History of Britain (Leicester, 1989), pp. 159–70, at p. 159.

44 Brooks, 'From British to English Christianity', p. 13.

45 Kenneth H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain: A Chronological Survey of the Brittonic Languages, First to Twelfth Century* (Edinburgh, 1953, rpt. 1956); Kenneth Cameron, 'Eccles in English Place-Names', in *Christianity in Britain 300–700*, ed. Maurice Barley and Richard P. C. Hanson (Leicester, 1968), pp. 87–92; Margaret Gelling, *Signposts to the Past* (London, 1978); Higham, *Northumbria*, p. 100.

46 'Old English had no single medial -g- of its own, except when followed by a nasal, and so -c- was substituted for it', Cameron, 'Eccles', pp. 87–8.

47 Higham, *Northumbria*, p. 100.

Combining archaeological evidence of changing burial practices with this place-name analysis, Patrick Sims-Williams presents the hypothesis that the British converted the Hwicce and Magonsæton tribes in southwestern England, but, he remarks, 'Bede says nothing about their conversion, probably because he had no information on the subject'.[48] While Yorke cautions against generalizations about the fragmented British Church, and reminds us that the evidence from the changing burial practices is negative, she concludes that 'there may have been British who thought of themselves as Christians living in Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the late sixth century, but their social standing was such that they are unlikely to have been in a position to influence kings and their aristocracies to change their religious beliefs'.[49] Although Lucas Quensel-von Kalben concludes that Christianity of a British origin was 'not an important factor in shaping Anglo-Saxon Christianity' in general, his data shows a clear shift to the west, which he reads as paradoxical: the signs of Christian burial disappear from areas where Roman Christianity in Britain was strongest, only to appear where Roman Christianity in Britain had been weakest. He suggests a combination of explanations, that the British Church structure emigrated west, while much of the elite was destroyed: 'Christianity might have formed one focus for British resistance against Anglo-Saxon domination'.[50] As Clare Stancliffe reiterates, pockets of Christianity survived even in eastern England, but the structure of the Church moved west, as reflected by the survival of place-names. She agrees such place-names provide 'a strong argument' for the survival of British Christianity in those places.[51]

Richard Sharpe and John Blair present positive evidence for the survival of the British Church via narrative sources (saints' lives), cult practices, inscribed stones, *llan/*lan* place-names and analyses taking the existence of micro-communities into consideration. Blair cautions that the view of the British Church as feeble and isolated should be rejected, and points out that the old story that the British made no effort to convert the English 'fits the ideological framework of Bede's "History" too conveniently to be accepted without question'.[52] He reminds us that 'Gildas castigated his [British] "tyrants" as bad Christians, not pagans, and even Bede, who had few good words for the British, blamed them for lack of charity and pastoral zeal rather than lack of Christian learning'.[53] Both Blair and Sharpe draw on evidence of saints' lives, especially Alban, Sixtus, Samson and Columbanus, to demonstrate not only the positive presence of British Christianity, but also to show continued interaction between Christians in different regions of the western British Isles. According to Sharpe,

48 Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p. 58.
49 Yorke, *Conversion*, pp. 120 and 122.
50 Lucas Quensel-von Kalben, 'The British Church and the Emergence of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 10 (1999), 89–97, at p. 95.
51 Clare Stancliffe, 'The British Church and the Mission of Augustine', in *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. Richard Gameson (Stroud, 1999), pp. 107–51, at pp. 121 and 128.
52 Blair, *The Church*, pp. 11 and 28–9. *Llan* originally referred to an enclosure, but came to mean church, pp. 20–2.
53 Ibid., p. 11.

> Sketching a narrative . . . from the textual sources sets out the positive case for the existence of a normal western church in Britain during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. It provides a basis for recognizing a post-Roman Christian society in Britain that endured after 429 and evolved within Britain to produce not only Gildas's Latin culture but also the asceticism of Samson, whose sanctity was remembered in Wales, Ireland, Cornwall and Brittany.[54]

While acknowledging the collapse of material culture in Britain in general after the departure of the Romans, Blair nevertheless goes on to demonstrate that these Churches were not surviving in complete isolation, cut off entirely from Christianity on the Continent – connections were sustained also by the continued transmission of computistical texts and tables. Blair argues that

> By the sixth century there was thus a Christian social nexus operating against the background of contacts with the eastern Mediterranean, Gaul, and the developing churches in Ireland. In this nexus monasticism . . . was known and becoming increasingly important. Where pottery and wine could travel, so could religious aspirations and monastic ideals.[55]

Blair summarizes the evidence of 'eccles' place-names and lays out Bassett's discussion of episcopal sites with appropriate reserve, then adds a discussion of the *llan/*lan* place-names, which involve names of saints or founders. He admits these ideas have been criticized, but suggests that the 'correctives . . . may have gone too far'.[56] Blair asserts that the evidence, sometimes beginning with 'tenuous scraps', accumulates in ways that are consistent. His conclusions in this section echo points (and cautions) raised by Yorke and Quensel-von Kalben, but also emphasize that the survival of Christianity varied across post-Roman Britain, and that social or political status affected cultural interaction, potentially including missionary activity. Again according to Blair,

> If Roman Christianity flourished in the west by transforming itself, it is unlikely in the east to have enjoyed more than a ghost-life. And it is hard to see how the religious groups who were enemies outside the Anglo-Saxon frontier, and second-class citizens within it, could have had much impact on kings and nobles who had defined themselves, perhaps self-consciously, in contradistinction to the British and their culture.[57]

By 'in the west', Blair means areas of the West Midlands, parts of Herefordshire, Shropshire and Cheshire with the area of contact being the 'central zone, basically between Northumbria and Mercia'.[58] While work remains to be done, Sharpe's point stands: the nineteenth-century story – that the Romans abandon Britain, leaving the island and its Church to be over-run and destroyed – has been displaced. The 'archaeological evidence for the period of Anglo-Saxon settlement has changed and its interpretation has been rethought; [the] Anglo-Saxon takeover was neither swift nor simple'.[59]

54 Sharpe, 'Martyrs', p. 85.
55 Blair, *The Church*, p. 18.
56 Ibid., p. 21.
57 Ibid., pp. 24–5. Quensel-von Kalben's essay predates both Blair and Sharpe; Yorke's does not, but she addresses neither their arguments nor the additional evidence they bring to bear.
58 Blair, *The Church*, pp. 25–7.
59 Sharpe, 'Martyrs', p. 86.

The process in the west involved more assimilation and language change rather than population replacement.[60]

This reassessment provides important new contexts for rethinking Bede's account of the conversion of Kent, as well as for rethinking what continuity in the West Midlands may tell us about the cultural and intellectual milieu of the translator of the *OEHE*. First, the contexts of inter-cultural relations and power dynamics thicken considerably. If Ian Wood is correct that the English of Kent sought conversion by Rome rather than allow the kingdom to be converted by the Franks because of questions of politics and power, the idea that the Anglo-Saxon invaders eschewed conversion from the British fits into a larger pattern.[61] What Bede records as the simple British 'failure' to convert the English may have been no such thing. All parties involved were highly aware of the power dynamics, an idea borne out by later evidence in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which amply demonstrates the connection between overlordship and conversion.

These details paint a very different history from the versions recorded by Bede, and much later by Stenton. They differ not only in relation to the survival of the British Church between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of Augustine, but also in relation to cultural interaction within Britain as well as between Britain, Ireland and the Continent. Culture and learning, while compromised and threatened, did not collapse entirely. Both Blair and Sharpe stress the importance of Gildas's writings as evidence of the survival of high levels of Latinity and rhetorical training in some places. While it remains crucial not to overstate the case, the accumulation of evidence makes clear the fact that the British and Irish did not live in complete isolation from developments in Christianity on the Continent, and that Christianity survived by transforming itself in western Britain. But to what degree was awareness of such continuity brought forward in time? Did any such awareness survive through the age of the Mercian hegemony into the era of the *OEHE*?

From Jarrow to Wessex

The second protracted event in Anglo-Saxon England relevant to the translation of the *OEHE* is the ninth-century wave of Scandinavian migration and settlement. This partly caused, and partly corresponded with, the shifting of the political and cultural center of Anglo-Saxon England south from Bede's Jarrow to Mercia then Wessex; they form contexts most relevant to the *OEHE*. The isolated raids that began in 793 led to 'invasion in considerable force' by 865.[62] As Peter Hunter Blair succinctly puts it, the historical changes in England between 865 and 937 were substantial. He tells us, 'the political system . . . perished through the disintegration or destruction of the several once independent kingdoms upon which that system had rested, and its

60 Catherine Hills, *Origins of the English* (London, 2003), pp. 111–14.
61 Ian Wood, 'The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English', *Speculum* 69.1 (1994), 1–17.
62 Wormald, 'Anglo-Saxon Society', p. 13.

place was taken by the single kingdom of England'.[63] What is not clear from Hunter Blair's summary is the fact that there were multiple stages in this shift of power south from Bede's Northumbria to Wessex, and that warfare between the kingdoms was a constant before the Scandinavians attacked and then settled. As Bede himself noted, the political predominance that Northumbria had enjoyed had already 'begun to ebb and fall away' because of the 'rash' military ventures of King Ecgfrith in 685.[64] Mercia enjoyed political dominance in the eighth century, but then became subject to Ecgbert of Wessex by 825.[65] Northumbria fell to the Scandinavians in 866–7, followed by East Anglia in 869.[66] Although Mercia was also further reduced by Scandinavian incursions by 874–7, its earlier dominance across much of southern England may be seen as having laid the political groundwork that set the stage for the rise of Wessex. According to James Campbell,

> The Mercian regime is seen as greatly reducing the number of independent or quasi-independent kingdoms . . . it can be argued that the Mercian regime prepared the way for the rise of the house of Wessex in the ninth century. It has, of course, to be admitted that the Vikings played a crucial role by destroying the kingdoms other than Wessex. But the partial unity established by the Mercian kings helps explain Alfred's capacity to be projected as ruler of all the Christian English, not just as king of the West Saxons but rather of the 'Anglo-Saxons'.[67]

Crucially, however, parts of southwestern Mercia, including some monasteries and centers of learning, including Worcester, survived the Viking attacks. After all, four of the men Alfred called upon to develop his literacy and translation program, Plegmund, Wærferth, Athelstan and Werwulf, came from Mercia.[68]

It was Alfred and the West Saxons, of course, who famously 'stemmed the tide of Scandinavian advance'.[69] The defeat of Guthrum and his Danes in the battle of Edington (878) led to the establishment of the Danelaw, inaugurating a phase of West Saxon predominance. Although, as H. M. Chadwick and Lesley Abrams have pointed out, the boundaries and definitions of the Danelaw from the ninth to the eleventh centuries proved to be somewhat fluid,[70] the date of the treaty serves as a limit marking at least a temporary change in the fortunes of the Anglo-Saxons in their struggle against the Northmen. While Simon Keynes and James Campbell have argued that Alfred's victory led to the existence of what Keynes calls a 'distinctive polity, for over forty years from

63 Peter Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 2003), p. 87.

64 *HE* IV.26(24), pp. 426–9.

65 Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 231–2.

66 Wormald, 'Anglo-Saxon Society', p. 13.

67 Campbell, 'United Kingdom of England', pp. 40–1. See Brooks, 'Formation of the Mercian Kingdom', Brown, 'Mercian Manuscripts', pp. 278–91.

68 Keynes, 'Power of the Written Word', p. 179.

69 David Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Politics, Culture and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 143. See also Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge, *Alfred the Great: Asser's 'Life of King Alfred' and Other Contemporary Sources* (New York and Harmondsworth, 1983).

70 H. M. Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (Cambridge, 1905), and Leslie Abrams, 'Edward the Elder and the Danelaw', in *Edward the Elder 899–924*, ed. N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill (London and New York, 2001), pp. 128–43.

the 880s to the 920s',[71] Pauline Stafford cautions against taking the unity of tenth-century England 'too much for granted'.[72] Or, as Janet Thorman puts it,

> However strong and stable West-Saxon rule in the tenth century may have been, the *Chronicle* makes it clear that no West-Saxon leader was free of rebellion, invasion, treachery, and the pressures of separate interests pursuing opportunistic strategies. West-Saxon hegemony was from the start continuously challenged and reasserted in response to contingent events.[73]

Crucial here is the fact that both views emphasize that by the time the *OEHE* was being translated, 'Anglo-Saxon England' itself had changed dramatically, and remained a site of struggle. Although the victory of Æthelstan, Alfred's grandson, over an alliance of Scandinavians and Scots at Brunanburh can be seen as returning us to Hunter Blair's 'single kingdom of the English', it is a kingdom over three hundred miles south of Bede's Jarrow, across more than a century of warfare and changing demographics.

In addition to setting the stage for West Saxon political hegemony, Mercia formed a crucial geographical and intellectual bridge transmitting religious, cultural, textual and artistic traditions between earlier and later Anglo-Saxon England. As Sherman Kuhn and Michelle Brown, among others, have demonstrated, eighth- and early-ninth-century Mercia saw extremely high levels of Christian learning, as well as textual and artistic culture.[74] As Brown reiterates, 'Sandwiched between the "golden ages" of Bede's Northumbria and the Wessex of Alfred and his successors, the intervening period has been comparatively neglected', though this is changing.[75] There is clear evidence that King Offa was involved in book patronage, and Brown demonstrates that important innovations in display scripts and decoration developed in late-eighth- and early-ninth-century Mercia. And, 'although eclipsed in popular imagination by their Hiberno-Saxon counterparts', Brown reminds us that

> some of the finest examples of Anglo-Saxon art were produced south of the Humber under the Mercian 'hegemony'— the Vespasian Psalter, the Stockholm Codex Aureus, the Book of Cerne, the Royal Bible, the Pentney brooches, the Gandersheim Casket and the sculptures of Breedon-on-the-Hill.[76]

Importantly, the Book of Cerne provides one of the earliest examples of Old English prose. In the eighth century, Brown asserts, 'the seeds were being sown in Mercia and in the areas which had been under its influence, of more

71 Simon Keynes, 'Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons', in *Edward the Elder 899–924*, ed. N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill (London and New York, 2001), pp. 40–66, at p. 62. See also *Alfred the Great*, ed. Reuter; Campbell, 'United Kingdom of England'.

72 Pauline Stafford, 'The Reign of Æthelred II, A Study in the Limitations on Royal Policy and Action', *Gender Family and the Legitimation of Power. England from the Ninth to Early Twelfth Centuries*, Essay IV (Aldershot, 2006), originally published in *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. David Hill, British Archaeological Reports British Series 59 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 15–46, at p. 17.

73 Thorman, '*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Poems', p. 78.

74 Kuhn, 'From Canterbury to Lichfield', and 'Some Early Mercian Manuscripts', *Review of English Studies* 8 (1957), 355–74; see also Brown and Farr, *Mercia*; and Waite, 'Vocabulary'.

75 Brown, 'Mercian Manuscripts', p. 279.

76 Ibid., pp. 279–80.

extensive written vernacular literacy'. Subsequently, the 'Mercian role in the Alfredian revival, the continued operation of Worcester in "free Mercia" and the West Saxon succession to the control of Kent ensured the legacy of Mercia and its culture continued to inform the emergence of a new England'.[77]

David Dumville reiterates this point directly in relation to early English scripts and book production. In his study of 'English Script in the Second Half of the Ninth Century', Dumville points out that surviving charter evidence indicates that 'a better standard of script and overall production obtained in western Mercia through the second half of the ninth century' and that 'one could argue on this basis for a much less severe decline in educational and scriptorial standards in western Mercia in the late ninth century'.[78] Alfred's Mercian teachers and literary advisors bear out this point. They arrive with the skills necessary to undertake the translations Alfred desired, as well as to teach and advise him. It stands to reason that these scholar-monks had some experience, and teachers of their own.

The OEHE and its Translator

Although the *OEHE* is anonymous and paleographically dated to the late-ninth or early-tenth century, linguistic evidence suggests that it participates in the larger arc of cultural transmission from Mercia to Wessex – though not as part of King Alfred's program. I believe that the main translator of the *OEHE* was working independently of Alfred's program, just as Godden and Irvine conclude the translator of the Old English Boethius was.[79] While Molyneaux's point that the preface to the *OEHE* articulates an interest in pedagogy similar to Alfred's is valid, a shared interest in 'Christian instruction' alone is insufficient grounds for placing the text within Alfred's program.[80] More importantly, the manuscript evidence is troubling in this regard. On the one hand, C, which is the only manuscript that can be associated with Winchester with any confidence, clearly suggests that the *OEHE* became known and proved useful to Alfred's successors in Winchester. On the other hand, one must wonder why, if the translation were made as part of Alfred's program, his successors possessed a copy relatively far removed from the original, with a section of secondary translation and significant lacunae in Books II and III. Surely, if Alfred had commissioned or overseen the translation, his successors would have had access to a manuscript closer to the archetype. Furthermore, as I discuss at greater length in Chapter 8, the additions to the *OEHE* in C strongly suggest that the *OEHE* alone did not suffice to fulfill the West Saxon ideological agenda.

Because the complete absence of documentary evidence connecting the text with the king's program creates the space for doubt, then the dialect of

77 Ibid., pp. 289–90.
78 David N. Dumville, 'English Script in the Second Half of the Ninth Century', in *Latin Learning and English Lore*, I, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard (Toronto, 2005), pp. 305–25, at p. 318.
79 Godden and Irvine, *Boethius*, p. 146.
80 Molyneaux, 'The Old English Bede', pp. 1307–16.

the text, the idiosyncratic style of the translation, the absence of an Alfredian preface, and variety of the state and organization of the list of chapter headings have led to the scholarly consensus that neither Alfred, nor the translators we can definitely associate with him, made the translation.[81] That being said, I do not subscribe to the idea that *OEHE* was necessarily part of another 'school' of translation, Mercian or otherwise. Although Robert Fulk has recently been thoughtfully reviving the idea of an early Mercian school, his treatment of the evidence from the *OEHE* itself is cursory and, as a result, oversimplified.[82] As the subsequent chapters of this book make clear, I base these contentions not only on the list of differences cited above, but also on the content and lexical and rhetorical strategies of the *OEHE* – that is, the ways in which the translator alters content and the narrative logic of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* through omission and rearrangement, his word choice in key places, and the independence of thought manifested by the translation.

Early English prose not only shows a great deal of resilience and independence, but also varies significantly across time and place. We cannot draw a straight line from Alfred's program to later Anglo-Saxon literature of any sort. As Waite summarizes, citing Helmut Gneuss and C. L. Wrenn, 'late West Saxon literature and the late West Saxon standard language . . . show no great debt to Alfred's early West Saxon prose, but rather evolved independently in the middle of the tenth century'.[83] We need look no further than Bede himself to see that writers and translators could work prolifically alone, or in relative isolation from other writers and translators. Bede had the library of Wearmouth-Jarrow at his disposal, and a productive scriptorium that found ways to be even more productive because of the international success of his writings. Although Bede's agenda of Church reform becomes clear in many of his writings, he founded no official school of exegesis or historical writing in Jarrow. While Bede clearly inspired students and developed a legacy, he was, as far as we can tell from the surviving manuscript evidence, the sole genius of Jarrow.[84] Similarly, translation was a part of Old English literary and religious culture from the earliest phases of the conversion period; Bede himself advocated the use of translation and was said to be translating the

81 Godden, especially, has challenged Alfredian authorship in 'Did King Alfred Write Anything?' On the divergence of the chapter headings, see Whitelock, 'Chapter-Headings', and J. Bately, 'Book Divisions and Chapter-Headings in the Translations of the Alfredian Period', *Early Medieval Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 252, ed. Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser (Tempe: AZ, 2002), pp. 151–66.

82 R. D. Fulk, 'Anglian Dialect Features in Old English Anonymous Homiletic Literature: A Survey, with Preliminary Findings', in *Studies in the History of the English Language IV: Empirical and Analytical Advances in the Study of English Language Change*, ed. Susan Fitzmaurice and Donka Minkova (Berlin, 2008), pp. 81–100 and 'Anglian Features in Late West Saxon' *Analysing Older English*, ed. David Denison, Ricardo Bermúdez-Otero, Chris McCully, and Emma Moore (Cambridge, forthcoming). Waite and I will address this issue fully in our forthcoming edition.

83 Waite, 'Vocabulary', p. 29.

84 On Bede's program of reform, see Scott DeGregorio, '"Nostrorum socordiam temporum": The Reforming Impulse of Bede's Later Exegesis', *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002), 107–22; and 'Bede's *In Ezram et Neemiam* and the Reform of the Northumbrian Church', *Speculum* 79 (2004), 1–25. On Bede's legacy, see my essay on 'Bede in Later Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 216–28.

Gospel of John on his deathbed, though the translation does not survive. In addition to the anonymous homilists whose independence of thought has been read as evidence that they worked in relative isolation, one can think of a variety of other named and unnamed writers in Anglo-Saxon England and Britain who stand out, or stand alone in some way or another: Aldhelm, Eddius Stephanus, Adomnán, the anonymous authors of the *Life of Guthlac* and the *Life of Cuthbert*, to name a few.

The independence of Bede's Old English translator can be seen in the ways in which the translation he produces decenters Roman authority and significantly reduces the voice of Gregory the Great. He also recasts Bede's salvation history and migration mythology, presenting a version of the fall of Britain and conversion of the English that is less pejorative toward the British. He refrains from explicit comment on the Scandinavian incursions, a restraint that distinguishes the text from others of the period, including copies of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* or Alfred's 'Letter to Wærferth'. Consequently, despite the powerful attraction of King Alfred's literary program and centralizing political ideals, these differences, along with linguistic and lexical differences, such as the use of the terms *Ongolþeod* and *Bretone* rather than *Angelcynn* and *Engla land*, suggest that there are good reasons to question the *OEHE*'s association with either. This is especially the case in the absence of any contemporary documentary evidence connecting the *OEHE* to Alfred and his program. By no means does such a conclusion seek to minimize the achievement of Alfred and his successors in consolidating their political power; their advocacy for and uses of literacy should not be underestimated. Nor should they be overestimated.

The *OEHE* speaks in a different language from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and it tells a different story. Unless further evidence comes to light, we may never know for certain where or for whom Bede's translator worked. What is clear, however, is that the *OEHE* produces and is produced by the complex interplay of continuity and change at work in early England. Whether the translator worked in a surviving center in Mercia, as part of Alfred's team, or in one of the unidentified scriptoria to which Alfred sent his translations, his world differed from Bede's in time, culture, politics and demographics. His awareness of these differences, as well as the fragile and geographically reduced position of the English in the late-ninth century have much to do with his treatment of his source text.

3

Gentes Names and the Question of 'National' Identity in the *OEHE*

The independence that I describe at the end of the last chapter can be succinctly demonstrated by looking at the many ways in which Bede's translator chooses to render Bede's term *gens Anglorum*. Approaching the *OEHE* from a comparative lexical perspective, this chapter examines differences between the *OEHE* and other vernacular texts, especially the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, regarding *gentes* names, the names of tribes or peoples that appear in the text. Focusing on the ways in which the *OEHE* translates *gens Anglorum* in relation to other *gentes* names, this chapter questions whether the *OEHE* plays a role in the tenth-century construction of an English national identity by the West Saxon court.[1] Although the *OEHE* was circulating in England during the period in which King Alfred and his son Edward formed and ruled the 'kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons', as well as into (and beyond) the days of Æthelstan's 'kingdom of the English',[2] it does not privilege the Alfredian term *Angelcynn*.[3] Taking a comparative approach to the study of *gentes* names shows that Bede's translator makes choices clearly different from what many scholars have defined as Alfred's ideological program of asserting an ideal of national unity via the term *Angelcynn*.

Many of the arguments for the formation of a proto-nation state or centralized kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons and the English in the tenth century derive, via Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, from Gregory the Great's notion that the kingdom of the Angles corresponded with what had been Roman *Britannia*. While, in Patrick Wormald's crisp formulation, 'Gregory was of course wrong',

1 *Gens* refers to 'a politically organised society' in the early Middle Ages. Michael Richter, 'Bede's "Angli": Angles or English?', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 99–114, at p. 100. To be more specific, according to Stephen Harris, '*Gens* (pl. *gentes*) is not a word which describes a nation or a geopolitical entity, but describes a race, a clan, or a tribe – an *ethnie*'. Steven J. Harris, *Race and Ethnicity in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (London and New York, 2003), p. 60. On the concepts of race and ethnicity in early England, see Harris; on the archaeological evidence see Yorke, *Conversion*; Hines, 'Becoming'. See also Karen Høilund Nielsen, 'The Schism of Anglo-Saxon Chronology', in *Burial and Society: The Chronological and Sociological Analysis of Archaeological Burial Data*, ed. Nielsen and C. K. Jensen (Aarhus, 1997), pp. 71–99, at pp. 80–1, and Hills, *Origins*.

2 Keynes, 'Edward', p. 62.

3 According to the *Dictionary of Old English*, *angelcynn* refers to: (1.a–d.) the English race, English people, England; in phrases referring to the English people or nation; referring to the English language; referring to the written history of the English people; referring to various political, social, and ecclesiastical structures of the English people. *Dictionary of Old English*, ed. Antonette diPaolo Healey, Joan Holland, Ian McDougall and David McDougall (Toronto, 2003).

he and others, including Sarah Foot, James Campbell, Nicholas Howe, Janet Nelson, Stephen Harris and Kathleen Davis, have argued persuasively that Alfred reached back to the ideas of a unified *gens Anglorum* as he forged an effective political entity out of some of that territory.[4] Because King Alfred's literacy program has been interpreted as an integral part of this construction of identity, the *OEHE* has been regularly, but I believe mistakenly, pulled into the service of such arguments. Although the scholarly consensus for the last century has been that the *OEHE* was not translated by King Alfred, many scholars still assume that it still must have been translated as part of his program. Wormald, for example, claims, 'It is no surprise, then, that Bede's *History* was among the works translated into the vernacular at King Alfred's court (Whitelock, 1962). (This translation survives in five pre-conquest manuscripts plus one fragment.)'[5] Not only does he misrepresent Whitelock's argument here, but he also presses Ca, which was written by Hemming, who worked between 1062 and 1095, into the first four years of that scribe's career.[6] Sarah Foot also cites Dorothy Whitelock's dating of the *OEHE* to argue that

> The historical element of the curriculum Alfred devised is striking: not only were Orosius's *Histories against the Pagans* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* translated into Old English at this time, but it must be in the context of this wider programme that the compilation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was commissioned. The Chronicle and the Old English Bede could both be seen as instruction for the English, the *Angelcynn*, in their shared inheritance of a common history.[7]

As such 'instruction', then, the *OEHE* would have functioned in accordance with the ideals of what Foot calls the 'West Saxon court machine' in asserting the common identity of the West Saxons, Mercians and the men of Kent as the *Angelcynn*.'[8]

Given the paucity and contradictory nature of much of the textual evidence from late-ninth- and early-tenth-century England, this is an important question for all who invoke Bede and the *OEHE* in relation to Alfred and his successors' attempts to unify and centralize England via a distinctive terminology. There is one copy of the Latin *Historia Ecclesiastica* surviving from ninth-century England (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.II), but not one tenth-century copy survives from England – except perhaps Winchester 1, which may be eleventh century. In contrast, two of the surviving *OEHE* manuscripts, T and C, date to the tenth century, as do the excerpts in Zu (which may in

[4] Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas*', p. 124; Campbell, 'United Kingdom of England'; N. Howe, 'Rome: Capital of Anglo-Saxon England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34.1 (2004), 147–72; see also Patrick Wormald, 'Engla lond: The Making of an Allegiance', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7 (1994), 1–24; Janet L. Nelson, 'The Political Ideas of Alfred of Wessex', in *Kings and Kingship in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (London, 1993), pp. 125–58; Davis, 'National Writing'.

[5] Wormald, 'Engla lond', p. 15.

[6] Molyneaux offers a detailed critique of Wormald's argument, 'The Old English Bede'.

[7] Sarah Foot, 'The Making of Angelcynn', p. 35. She also cites Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', but much more cautiously.

[8] Foot, 'Angelcynn', p. 28. See also Thorman, '*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Poems'. More recently, David Pratt has described this dynamic as Alfred's 'court theatre'. Pratt, *Political Thought*, pp. 8–14 and 168.

fact be slightly earlier). Consequently, the *OEHE* manuscripts are not only crucial witnesses, but they may be the only witnesses of the transmission of Bede's *Historia* in the tenth century. Although Foot acknowledges that Bede's 'Mercian translator spoke of *Ongelcynn* or *Ongelþeod*', a closer examination of all of the ways that the translator renders *gens Anglorum* raises serious questions about the extent to which his work asserts any such common identity.

'Angelcynn' and the Language of Political Community

The connection between Bede's term *gens Anglorum* and the term *Angelcynn* lies at the heart of arguments concerning the development of English national identity via language. In 'The Political Ideals of King Alfred the Great', Janet Nelson argues that 'references to "all Englishkind" (*Angelcyn*) in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 886, in the introductory section to [Alfred's] laws, and in the prefaces to the Old English *Pastoral Care*, suggest that Alfred's aim was to reinforce West Saxon–Mercian unity'.[9] Similarly, Foot credits Alfred with 'the invention of the English as a political community'.[10] She also asserts that Alfred promoted 'the term *Angelcynn* to reflect the common identity of his people in a variety of ways'.[11] Usage in the few, definitively Alfredian texts is, in fact, consistent. There are thirty-one total uses of the term up to and including 900, ten in manuscript A of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (this figure excludes the additions), seven in Alfred's *Prefaces* to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, along with instances in wills and charters associated with Alfred and in the *Old English Martyrology* (nine uses; the connection of this text with Alfred is speculative).[12]

Wormald develops a line of thought similar to Nelson's. Although he acknowledged that England was not 'proceeding logically towards unification', Wormald believed that Bede saw the English as a unified Chosen people and that the *Historia Ecclesiastica* provided Alfred with an 'ideological blueprint' for promoting hegemony.[13] As Foot points out, language plays a constitutive role in the construction of any such ideology. She argues:

> [an] examination of contemporary linguistic usage can be a valuable key to concepts of the past, particularly in the sphere of naming. Not only are the words chosen by one culture to express its ideas one sign of its own distinctive and individual thought, but the collective names adopted by communities play a significant part in the process of the formation of their identity.[14]

Bede's usage is, in fact, distinctive. Michael Richter has shown that Bede uses *gens Anglorum* as an umbrella term in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and that his

9 Nelson, 'Political Ideas', pp. 134–5.

10 Foot, 'Angelcynn', p. 25.

11 Ibid.

12 I would like to thank George Molyneaux for these numbers. Simon Keynes, D. N. Dumville and Janet Bately, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, vol. III, *MS A* (Cambridge, 1986).

13 Wormald, 'Engla Lond', pp. 5 and 1; see also Wormald, 'Bede, the Bretwaldas'.

14 Foot, 'Angelcynn', p. 28.

usage differs from the general Continental habit of referring to the Germanic inhabitants of Britain as *Saxones* prior to Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[15] Nor is there reason to challenge Wormald's argument that Bede's usage derives from Gregory the Great's idea that the Angles ruled an area corresponding to Roman Britannia. Although Wormald becomes increasingly emphatic about the existence of a unified English political identity during the reign of Alfred (as well as Bede's importance in developing that sense), his 1983 essay, 'Bede, the Bretwaldas and the Origins of the *Gens Anglorum*', stresses the concept as an ideal, rather than a reality. According to Wormald, unity of the Church starting with the episcopacy of Theodore of Canterbury precedes any kind of political unity:

> the Anglo-Saxons developed a sense of communal identity which inspired one of the world's great histories, and which drew its strength from spiritual ideals rather than political realities. Indeed, it is arguable that it was because 'Englishness' was first an ideal that the enterprise launched by Alfred, his children and grandchildren was so astoundingly successful. English communal identity may have begun with the dangers posed by whatever King Arthur later came to represent; but its persistence when the danger passed was probably due to Canterbury's papally inspired vision of their unity before God. Symbolically at least, Napoleon's nation of shopkeepers began in Gregory's market-place at Rome.[16]

Although his work becomes increasingly polarized from that of Walter Goffart, at this point Wormald admitted that 'Bede was to some extent a visionary (and, it must be said, an Angle)'.[17] In fact, Goffart cites Wormald (along with James Campbell) to argue that Bede's view of history was highly idealized.[18] Kathleen Davis has refined and developed this language and the ideas behind it in terms of the post-colonial discourse of Benedict Anderson's 'imagined political communities', at the same time refuting Anderson's misconceptions about the 'naive realism' or 'unselfconscious coherence' of the Middle Ages.[19] Although we cannot speak of nations in a modern sense, early-medieval writers like Gregory, Bede, his anonymous translators, and Alfred self-consciously deploy terms and engage in rhetorical and textual strategies to delineate social and political groupings in the service of royal (or ecclesiastical) interest. The question that arises, however, is to what extent continuity existed between the imagined ecclesiastical communities of Gregory and Bede, Bede's English translators and the ecclesiastical and political community imagined by Alfred and his successors.

15 Richter, 'Bede's "Angli"', pp. 106–7.

16 Wormald, 'Bede, the Bretwaldas', pp. 128–9. See also Barbara Yorke, 'The Bretwaldas and the Origins of Overlordship in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. Stephen David Baxter (Farnham, 2009), pp. 81–95.

17 Wormald, 'Bede, the Bretwaldas', p. 121

18 Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, NJ, 1988), p. 236. On the polarization Wormald writes, 'Professor Walter Goffart and others have recently wondered whether Bede's "Angles" were not in fact his fellow Northumbrians, *technically* Angles, rather than "Englishmen" in general, i.e. Anglo-Saxons'. P. Wormald, 'The Venerable Bede and the "Church of the English"', in *The English Religious Tradition and the Genius of Anglicanism*, ed. Geoffrey Rowell (Wantage, 1992), pp. 13–32, at p. 21.

19 Davis, 'National Writing', pp. 612–13.

Scholarly debate over this question breaks down along lines similar to the maximal and minimal views discussed in Chapter 2. Goffart, Harris, and Brooks reiterate the importance of remembering Bede's perspective as a Northumbrian Angle and a Church historian.[20] Bede admits that he drew on no Mercian sources and dedicated his *Historia Ecclesiastica* to a Northumbrian king. Brooks' exercise of mapping peoples and events recounted in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* demonstrates a clear bias toward peoples and events east of the Pennines, 'whether by design or accident'.[21] Northumbrian hegemony, which had waxed and waned under kings like Edwin and Oswald, had once again retreated into the north in the days of Bede. As Clare Lees and Gillian Overing point out,

> the kingdom of Northumbria in early Anglo-Saxon England [was] a highly influential – and movable – territory. During the seventh and eighth centuries, Northumbrian jurisdiction at times extended further north into Scotland and southwest into Mercia . . . according to shifting patterns of alliances within the two at times distinct kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia in the region.[22]

Alfred's kingdom was far to the south and bounded by the Danelaw as much as (if not more so than) the Humber. The referent (or referents) for terms like *Angli* and *Angelcyn* were subject to change – not only in the intervening years, but also in translation.

At least part of the problem derives from the fact that Bede himself uses the term *gens Anglorum* in a variety of ways. Although, as I have noted, Richter demonstrates that Bede's usage is distinct from Continental, British and Irish naming practices, it can be ambiguous within the *Historia Ecclesiastica* itself: Bede uses the term to refer to the Germanic Angles, to refer to all of the Germanic tribes inhabiting Britain generally, and to refer specifically to his own tribe (the Northumbrian Angles) as a delimited group.[23] Putnam Fennell Jones's *Concordance to the Historia Ecclesiastica of Bede* indicates 179

[20] Goffart, *Narrators*, pp. 240, 251, 253; Brooks, 'From British to English Christianity'; Harris, *Race and Ethnicity*.

[21] Brooks, 'From British to English Christianity', pp. 8–10.

[22] Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, 'Anglo-Saxon Horizons: Places of the Mind in the Northumbrian Landscape', in *A Place to Believe in: Locating Medieval Landscapes*, ed. Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing (University Park, PA, 2006), p. 8.

[23] According to Harris 'In all of Bede's work except the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bede uses the word *gens* in all its inflections 1,030 times. In the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, he uses the term in all its inflections 255 times (about 25 percent of all use). By comparison, the Vulgate New Testament uses the term *gens* in all its inflections only 128 times. The genitive plural *Anglorum* appears in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* 179 times, while in Bede's other work, only seventeen times. The nominative inflection of *Anglorum*, which is *Angli*, and all other inflections (save the seventeen occasions of the plural genitive, *Anglorum*) occur only eighteen times. The nominative inflection *Angli* is, in the vast majority of cases, used in reference to the Continental Angles. These figures indicate that Bede is not writing his *Historia Ecclesiastica* about the Angles, per se, but about a *gens*. The difference is subtle but telling. *Angli* refers most often only to the Angles, but the term *gens* is semantically ambiguous. We find very few instances in which *Angli* forms the subject of the sentence. In many more sentences, *gens* forms the subject of the sentence only to be qualified by *Anglorum*. That is to say, the vast majority of Bede's sentences are about an identifiable *ethnie*, a discrete community with its own culture, not about an uncertain portion of Angles. (One might similarly compare 'a gang of men' and 'men', where the emphasis depends on an assertion of the collective noun)', *Race and Ethnicity*, p. 68.

total uses of forms of *Angli* in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[24] Wormald argues that about half of these refer to all of the Germanic tribes inhabiting Britain as 'English'. Harris takes issue with Wormald and Richter, arguing that Bede refers most often to the Angles specifically as a *gens*. It could well be the case that Bede's referent in the generalized cases is a deliberately shifting term that refers to the Northumbrian Angles plus those Germanic peoples over whom they ruled at any given time.

Methodologically, however, the semantic weight of a term can only be articulated in relation to the use of other such terms. Bede may use the term *Angli* 179 times, but the weight of a term only becomes clear when compared to the frequency of other terms referring to peoples, especially those inhabiting the British Isles, which Wormald does not include. I have compiled the frequency of use of *gentes* names in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* using Jones's *Concordance*, and the frequencies of *Angelcynn* and other *gentes* names terminology in the *OEHE* using the Toronto *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* and my own new, diplomatic transcriptions. In my discussion of the *OEHE*, variant spellings and the occasional overlap of terms referring to a people, a place, a language or some combination of all three in the vernacular have led me to qualify some of my results with an 'about'. Looking at the totals raises questions not only about social and political groups in translation, but also about localization and language.

Gentes Names in the Historia Ecclesiastica

Bede uses at least seventy-four *gentes* names in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*; these are summarized in Table 3. Bede uses these names about 946 times, some instances of which overlap with place-names. For the purposes of this analysis, I have used adjectival forms from Jones, plus localizations (that is, names he has indicated as 'of x-place'). Clearly, Bede uses forms of *Angli* the most frequently throughout his text. As Wormald points out, in seventy-eight out of 179 instances, Bede uses a form of *Angli* as an umbrella referring to the Germanic tribes in general. But at least fifty-seven refer specifically to the English Church, at least twenty-one are ambiguous, and twenty-seven refer to speech. Forty-four refer specifically to 'Northumbrian Angles', and another 'seventeen places or items thus designated are Northumbrian or otherwise Anglian'.[25] This gives a total of sixty-one clear references to Northumbria/Northumbrian Angles, a total Wormald does not present as such. Seventy-eight to sixty-one does not mark an overwhelming propensity toward the generalized usage, especially given the additional and ambiguous usages.

Looking at Bede's terminology more comprehensively, one finds a combination of generalized and localized names throughout the text. In addition to

24 Putnam Fennell Jones, *A Concordance to the 'Historia Ecclesiastica' of Bede*, Medieval Academy of America Publication 2 (Cambridge, MA, 1929).

25 Wormald, 'The Venerable Bede and the "Church of the English"', pp. 21–2.

the issues of language and Christianity I have been discussing as markers of constructed social identity in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, John Hines reiterates that 'Location within a given territory thus seems to have been one of the definitive attributes for an ethnic group within Bede's scheme'.[26] This is very much the case. At first glance, the variety of names that can be grouped under 'Saxons' seems strikingly differentiated by compass points, but closer examination shows that the list of Northumbrians is also stratified by names referring both to location and peoples. These peoples include some *Angli*, then the *Deiri*, *Bernicii*, *Hymbronenses*, *Lindisfari* and *Lindisfarenses/-is* and, of course, the *Nordanhymbri*. Although Bede sometimes generalizes, he can be very specific about which people (or group of monks) he is discussing, 'English' or otherwise. Some categories overlap with others, and sometimes Bede varies his usage; Jones collapses two instances of *Middilangli* into his entry for the *Angli mediterranei*, raising the question: to what extent should one distinguish the group (or subset) *Dorovernensis* (of Canterbury) from the *Cantvarii* (of Kent)? How exactly are we to understand these terms in relation to *Ivtae?*[27] While we can determine the extent to which Bede depends on his written sources for his use of a name up to a point in Book I (and in the papal letters), we cannot do the same for his many oral sources (much of the rest of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*). It is also worth considering that Bede's choices at any point may be driven more by the aesthetics of rhetorical variation than concerns about ethnicity.

That being said, even a quick look at Table 3 confirms Richter's and Wormald's observations on Bede's usage, as well as Goffart's and Brooks's cautions about perspective. While Bede can be quite specific in some instances, he uses forms of *Angli* significantly more often than any other *gentes* name, and this despite additional, multiple uses of the specific names of Anglian subgroups, such as *Deiri*, *Mercii*, etc. Although the total number of *gentes* names invoking some form of 'Saxon' comes to ninety-one, the overall total of Angle groupings is 220 – a significant majority. This comes as no surprise, given the title of Bede's book and his own political affiliations. What may come as a surprise, however, is that the *OEHE*, which otherwise follows Bede quite closely, translates forms of *gens Anglorum* in over twenty different ways.

Gentes Names in the OEHE

A comparative examination of the translation of *gentes* names distances the *OEHE* not only from Bede's generalizing tendencies when it comes to the *Angli*, but also from what we know about Alfred's terminological practices. In all, the translator of the *OEHE* uses about forty-six different *gentes* names during the course of the text, at least thirty-five of which refer to peoples living in England. These are summarized in Table 4, which reflects spelling variations in the Old English. In the Old English, terms and phrases referring

[26] Hines, 'Becoming', p. 51.
[27] Ibid., p. 53.

to groups, territories and languages overlap (though reference to Bede's Latin sometimes helps). I have also included the total number of occurrences in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (2008), as well as comparative data for the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* manuscripts, also according to the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. Table 5 contains summary totals, including totals for uses of the terms *Englisc*, *Engla lond* and *Breotone*. Appendix II presents all uses of the terms *ongolþeod* and *angelcynn* in the *OEHE*, in order of occurrence broken down by manuscript and including variants (where available).

Table 3. *Gentes* names in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*

Gentes name	Freq.	*Gentes* name	Freq.	*Gentes* name	Freq.
Aegyptii/ius	6	Gyrvii avstrales	1	Mercii Aqvilonares	1
Angli	179	Hagvstaldensis	1	Mercii Avstrales	1
Angli mediterranei	11	Halani	1	Mercinenses	1
Angli orientales	30	Hebrei	2	Moriani/Moryni	2
Bernicii	10	Hiberni	1	Nicenvs	2
Borvctvari	3	Hienses	4	Ninevitae	1
Brettones	65	Hispanus	1	Nordanhymbri	58
Brettonicvs	1	Hrofensis	15	Picti	46
Cantvarii	36	Hviccii	4	Romani/-vs	66
Chaldaei	1	Hunni	2	Rvgini	1
Constantinopolitanvs	1	Hymbronenses	1	Sarraceni	1
Dalrevdini	1	Invndalvm	2	Saxones	17
Danai	1	Israeliticvs	3	Saxones Antiqvi	5
Deiri/Deri	9	Ivdaei	5	Saxones Avstrales	12
Dorvvernensis	21	Ivtae/Ivti	6	Saxones Meridiani	1
Ebvracensis	8	Latini	2	Saxones Occidentales	30
Estrangli	1	Lindisfari	5	Saxones Occidvi	1
Franci	10	Lindisfarenses/-is	26	Saxones Orientales	23
Fresones	4	Lindocolinum	1	Saxonicvs	2
Galli/Gallican/Gallicus	7	Lvndionses/-is	4	Scotti/Scotticus	85
Germani	1	Lyccitfeldensis	1	Trinovantes	1
Gevissae/Gevissi	11	Mailrosensis	1	Tripolitanvs	1
Gothi	3	Meanvari	1	Ventanus	2
Greci/Grecus	7	Meldi	1	Victvarii	1
Gyrvii	2	Mercii	53		

This table follows Fennell Jones's spelling conventions.

Table 4. *Gentes* Names in the Corpus, *OEHE* and *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

Term	*DOEC*	*OEHE*	*ASC* mss
Angelcynn-	147	6	92
Angolcynn-	7	1	1
Ongolcynn-	38	40	1
Ongelcynn-	7	1	0
Ongelþeod-, Ongelðeod-	13	13	0
Ongolþeod-, Ongolðeod-	25	25	0
Angelþeod-, Angelðeod-	12	11	0
var. (i.e. angell-, -folc, or -þiode. . .)	5	5	0
Angle/Angel	15	2	4
Ongol/Ongle	14	9	0
Eastengl-	64	30	27
Middelengl-	10	7	1
Englisc (also as language)	514	13	53
Saxon-	57	0	5
Seax-	14	4	6
Eastseax-	69	26	40
Westseax-	187	44	125
Wesseax-	44	2	33
Westsax-	2	0	0
Suþseax-/Suðseax var	55	12	42
Norðhymbra (Norþhymb-)	162	2	140
Norðan hymbra	91	48	40
Bernicia	10	8	2
Deira	7	7	0
Norþ-þeód	1	1	0
Súðhymbra	5	0	5
Mercna	74	47	5
Myrcna	105	9	69
Mearc	1	0	1
Mircn-	2	0	2
Norþmerc-	1	1	0
Suðmercna	1	1	0
Scott-	165	65	70
Sceott-	14	5	0
Scytt-	11	5	2

Term	*DOEC*	*OEHE*	*ASC* mss
Norþ-Scottas	1	1	0
Peohtas	39	23	9
Piht	23	0	18
Peht-	11	7	4
Brytt-	82	30	40
Brett-	47	27	18
Britt-	14	1	12
Geatum*	55	2	0
Cantwara mægð	2	2	0
Dælreodi	3	0	3
Delreadingas	1	1	0
Feppingum	1	1	0
Gyrwas	5	3	0
Hwicce	7	2	4
Meanware mægðe	1	1	0
Súþgyrwas/Norðgyrwas	4	1	0
Súþmægð	3	3	0
Súþr-íge	20	1	19
Undalan	1	1	0
Wihtsætan	1	1	0
Boructuare	1	1	0
Campanie þære mægðe	1	1	0
Dæne	2	1	0
Eald Seaxan	15	5	8
Fresan	2	2	0
Gota	63	2	4
Greca/-isc	314	9	2
Huna	17	2	2
Romane	774	43	56
Rugine	1	1	0
Tarso Cilicio	3	1	0
Troisc-/Troia	25	3	0

* According to the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, Chronicles A, D and C list the names Godulf Geating and Geat Tætwaing, though these are clearly not the same as the *OEHE* usage of *Geat-* where Bede uses forms of *Iuti*. (As I note in the coda to Chapter 4 on the 'Troiscan wæle', Harris presents the theory that the *OEHE* as an Alfredian text introduces the term *Geata* to suggest a common origin between the Danes (Jutes, Geats, Goths) and the Anglo-Saxons. See Harris, *Race and Ethnicity*, pp. 84–6.)

Table 5. *Gentes* Names in the *OEHE* and *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Totals

Term	*DOEC*	*OEHE*	*ASC* mss
Ongolcynn/Angelcynn	199	48	94
Ongolþeod/Angelþeod	55	54	0
Ongol/Angle	29	11	4
Eastengl-	64	30	27
Middelengl-	10	7	1
Sax-, Seax-	71	4	11
East/West Seax-	357	84	240
Norðanhymbra	253	50	180
Merc-	182	56	77
Scott-	190	75	72
Peohtas	73	30	31
Bryttas	143	58	70
Englalond	3	2	1
Englaland	150	0	107
Englisc (incl. language)	514	13	53
Breotone	105	95	0

In all, there are about 629 total occurrences of *gentes* names in the *OEHE* (down from 946 in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, consistent with the overall assessment that the vernacular version cuts its source by about a third). The most frequent translation of *gens Anglorum* in the *OEHE* is *Ongolþeod*. To be more specific: this is the translation used most often, especially in T, the oldest substantial manuscript of the *OEHE*, in which it is spelled with two *o*'s, a point to which I will return. That being said, *Ongolcynn* or *Angelcyn* appear in the *OEHE* almost as frequently, with the *Angelcyn* spelling appearing consistently in Ca. Because the beginning of T is missing, Miller uses Ca for the front matter and first twelve chapters of his edition (which is up to I.23 in the Latin). Anyone opening up Miller's edition to see if the *OEHE* uses the term will find *Angelcynn* right up front in the late-eleventh-century text; the early-tenth-century data, which differs, appears later in Miller's edition.

Examining the use of the term *Ongolcynn* in its textual contexts in the *OEHE* reveals another significant variation: its use in phrases. Exactly half of the instances of *Ongolcynn* in the *OEHE* occur in phrases such as 'þeod Ongolcynnes', 'Ongolcynnes mægðe', 'Ongolcynnes folc' and even 'Ongolcynnes cynn'. These pairings of *Ongolcynn* with words referring to race and kinship groupings renders *Ongolcynnes* with *Onglorum* and *cynn*, *folc*, *mægðe* and *þeod* with *gens*. Looking comparatively, *Angelcynn* appears forty-eight times in the *OEHE*. In contrast, it occurs ninety-eight times in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

and seven times in the Prefaces to the *Pastoral Care*. In both of these texts, the term stands alone as the term referring to the English. Although *Angelcynn* clearly had the received meaning of 'English' as an imagined polity in the Alfredian texts, it does not bear the same meaning when standing alone in the *OEHE*.

As I have noted, the term that stands alone most often for *gens Anglorum* in the *OEHE* is *Ongolþeod*, which occurs fifty-four times in the text (including variant spellings), once in a phrase using *mægðe* and again in a phrase specifying the *norðfolc* and *suðfolc*.[28] The term *Ongolþeod* never appears in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.[29] Overall, the *OEHE* varies the way it translates Bede's *gens anglorum*; however, it is more likely to use *Ongolþeod* than any other single term, compound or combination. This preference, combined with the tendency of the *OEHE* to use *Ongolcynn* in phrases signals practices varied and divergent enough to trouble the idea that the text was part of a larger program designed to foster community by using the distinctive term *Angelcynn*.

In fact, the *OEHE* uses about twenty different translations for Bede's *gens Anglorum*. These are: 'Ongolþeode', 'Ongolcynne', 'on Angelcynne', 'Angelcynnes cynn',' angelcynnes þeode', 'ongolcynnes folcum', 'suðfolc angel þeode ⁊ norðfolc',' ongolcirican', 'ongolðeode cirican', 'ongle', 'ongolcynnes rice', 'ongolcyningas', 'ongolcynnes ciricum', 'mægðe ongolcynnes', 'in englum', 'angelfolcum', 'englescan men', 'ongolcynrice', 'ongolcynnes eahte' (see Appendix II). Unfortunately, the translator of the *OEHE* does not use this variety to clarify the ambiguities we find in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. That is, he does not consistently use the *-cynn* forms to indicate, say, the Northumbrian Angles and *-mægðe* forms as an umbrella term. Rather, he uses different combinations from line to line. He seems to strive for clarity when the Church or language are in question, but varies his usage to the point of apparent redundancy (*angelcynnes cynn*) when faced with the many instances of *gens Anglorum*.

Spelling practices also diverge between *OEHE* manuscripts and between the *OEHE* and the Alfredian texts. Where T and C (the earliest extant manuscripts) survive, the *OEHE* spells *Angel* as *Ongol*, with only one exception. Because these early manuscripts are incomplete, Miller was forced to use Ca for large sections at the beginning and end of his edition. This late Worcester manuscript consistently uses the *a +e* spelling. (We see the earliest consistent shifts in spelling in O, which combines *o+e* spellings with *a+e* spellings.) It is important to notice that some of the *OEHE* scribes alter the vowels, but they never change '-þeod' to '-cynn'. Although it is clear that Alfred effectively encouraged the use of his distinctive terminology, the unvaried use of *Angelcynn*, in the texts definitively associated with his program, his usages did not inspire later scribes to imitate that terminology – at least not the scribes of the *OEHE*.

[28] *OEHE* III.2, p. 158/24.
[29] The only other place in the Corpus that the term appears is in a spurious charter of Æthelred II (charter 915).

Overall, it becomes clear that Miller's composite text is misleading as to the use and spellings of *gentes* names around the time of Alfred. While orthography can only provide limited evidence, it is important to understand that the early *OEHE* manuscripts do not manifest consistent scribal practices, as should be clear from Tables 4 and 5. However, the regularity with which the early scribes spell *Ongol-* the same way is striking. In contrast, Alfred's *Preface* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* use *Angel-* spelling consistently. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* only uses the spelling with two *o*'s once. The *o* spellings of the rounded back vowel were common in early English manuscripts – though not those in early West Saxon. Such spellings persisted in the West Midlands, specifically. These differences in terminology and orthography mark clear, consistent differences between the *OEHE* and the Alfredian texts.

Looking at these forms in relation to other *gentes* names in the *OEHE* further undermines the idea that the term *Angelcynn* bears any special ideological weight in this particular. In all, *Ongolcynn* alone accounts for less than eight percent of the total *gentes* names in the *OEHE*. If we combine *Ongolcynn* and *Ongolþeod* as synonyms, the percentage climbs to sixteen – a number still statistically too small to foster any sense of community, especially since a high proportion of these uses refer to the Northumbrian Angles specifically. (In the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *gens Anglorum* accounts for 18.9% of all *gentes* names.) Whereas Alfred and his circle use *Angelcynn* uniformly, and Bede uses *gens Anglorum* regularly as a collective term, the *OEHE* varies its usage, differing from both.

Another key lexical difference between these texts underscores the separation of practices. Alfred uses *Angelcyn* to refer to England, while the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers to *Engla land* 108 times. While the *OEHE* occasionally uses *Ongolcyn* to refer to the land, it only uses the term *Engla lond* twice. Both instances occur in IV.27, where Bede describes how the fortunes of the Northumbrians began to ebb and fail. The translator's two uses of *Engla lond* refer specifically to the monastery of Abercorn, on the border between the English and the Picts.[30] Both, then, clearly refer to the territory of the Northumbrian Angles, rather than the island as a whole. Instead, the *OEHE* uses the term *Breotone* exclusively to refer to the island, and does so ninety-five times (these numbers appear at the end of Table 5). In contrast, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* never uses this term (though the Orosius and the Old English *Martyrology* do). The exclusiveness of the use of *Breotone* by the *OEHE*, contrasted with the exclusive use of *Engla land* by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, is striking, especially when considered in the context of the variety of ways in which the *OEHE* translates *gens Anglorum*.

Overall, the evidence suggests that the *OEHE* is much more likely to atomize than generalize when it comes to naming political or tribal affiliations. In fact, the *OEHE* includes thirteen *gentes* names that do not appear in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, or anywhere else in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. Looking at the combined comparative evidence, one simply cannot draw a

30 *OEHE*, p. 258/20–1.

straight line from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* to Alfred's promotion of the term *Angelcynn* via the *OEHE*. To be clear, this evidence does not challenge thought on Alfred's ideological agenda itself. But, looking at *gentes* names relationally, the *OEHE* cannot be said to be a part of any attempt to promote a 'myth' of 'common origins' using the term *Angelcynn*.[31] A close examination of the varied ways in which the *OEHE* translates *gentes* names, especially *gens Anglorum*, provides additional evidence setting that text apart. Rather than engaging the distinctive terminology of Alfred's program to imagine 'eall Angelcynn' as a political community, the *OEHE* articulates the history of the *Ongle* as one *þeod*, *mægðe*, *cynn*, *folc* and *cirice* among the many in *Breoton*. To associate the *OEHE* with Alfred is the very stuff of origin myths: an erasure of difference across the absence of documentary evidence.

31 Foot, 'Angelcynn', p. 35.

4

Rewriting Salvation History

'BREOTON · IS GARSECGES · EALOND'[1]

The first four words of the main text of the *OEHE* begin by translating Bede's famous line, 'Brittania Oceani insula',[2] using the poetic and difficult word *garsecg*. The term appears about one hundred times in the *Corpus* of Old English, and while it clearly refers to the ocean, precisely how it came to bear that meaning has long been a subject of contention. The *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* indicates that 'the etymology of the word has been much disputed . . . the compound is probably to be translated as either "spear-warrior" (where personification is presumed) or "spear-ocean"'.[3] On one level, the term has been read as powerfully northern and Germanic. Possibly a kenning, it appears several times in British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xv (the *Beowulf* manuscript), then most frequently in the Old English *Orosius*; Sievers and Sweet associated the term with the runic inscription on the Franks Casket to give it the meaning of 'the Rager'.[4] More recently, Roger Smith and Earl Anderson have connected it with Norse ship construction and folk etymologies for 'the edge of the promontory'.[5]

On another level, however, the term may be as closely associated with *romanitas* in Britain as Bede's *Historia* itself. As Michael Lapidge and others have recently and persuasively shown, despite earlier notions of the intensely Germanic and oral-formulaic character of Old English poetry, Latin learning and verse had a profound influence on Old English poetry, especially poetic compounds.[6] That Bede's earliest English translator uses the term *garsecg*,

1 *OEHE* I.1, Ca 8v/6, *OEHE* I.1, p. 24 (his reading of 'ist' does not appear in any manuscript of the *OEHE*). This passage in B (22/13–16) has 'BREOTON IS GARSEC' written in an early modern hand in a blank space left for capitals.

2 *HE* I.1, pp. 2–3, 'Britain [is] an island in the ocean'.

3 *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*; Joseph Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*, ed. Thomas Northcote Toller, http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/013309 (accessed 29 March 2011), s.v. 'Gár-secg'; R. L. M. Derolez, '—And That Difficult Word, *garsecg*', *Modern Language Quarterly* 7.4 (1946), 445–52. See also Sam Newton, *The Origins of 'Beowulf' and the Pre-Viking Kingdom of East Anglia* (Cambridge, 1993) p. 50; Richard North, *Heathen Gods in Old English Literature*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 22 (Cambridge, 1997), p. 217.

4 Cited in Derolez, '*Garsecg*', p. 449.

5 Roger Smith, '*Garsecg* in Old English Poetry', *English Language Notes* 24.3 (1987), 14–19, at p. 16; Earl R. Anderson, *Folk Taxonomies in Early English* (Madison, NJ, 2003), p. 272.

6 Michael Lapidge, 'Old English Poetic Compounds', *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 24, ed. Virginia Blanton and Helene Scheck (Tempe, AZ, 2008), pp. 17–32.

rather than *sæ*, then, speaks eloquently not only to a recognition of the deep, structural influence of Latin learning in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, but also to the active appropriation and transformation of Latin learning in the post-colonial world of Anglo-Saxon England. If earlier Germanic philologists balked at Bosworth-Toller's identification of the 'spear warrior' with the Roman god Neptune and his trident, Diarmuid Scully has recently shown the extent to which Bede's presentation of 'Brittania Oceani insula' taps into the Roman understanding of 'Oceanus', and manipulates it in the service of salvation history and 'providential geography'.[7] *Garsecg* parallels both the classical personification of Ocean as a living force, and representations of the ocean as encompassing, boundless and terrifying.[8]

The *OEHE* continues the process of appropriation and transformation, not merely by choosing complex and evocative words like *garsecg* at crucial moments, but also by abridging Book I so as to re-present Bede's account of the arrival of the Germanic tribes and the fall of Britain. As discussed in the Introduction, the changes and omissions that Bede's Old English translator makes to his source text have been read as either signs of his inferior understanding of history, or as the straightforward abridgement of outdated matters, especially the Pelagian heresy and the Easter controversy. Problematically, however, such readings overlook both the precision with which the translator works and the extent to which he reshapes Bede's salvation history. Consequently, such readings also fail to consider the ways in which Bede uses the Pelagian heresy and Easter controversy to give meaning and structure to his narrative of conquest, conversion and unification.

This chapter examines these revisions to Book I, along with corresponding revisions to Book V, to argue that the *OEHE* entirely removes Bede's account of the Pelagian heresy and summarizes Bede's account of the Easter controversy not because they are 'old and dead', but in order to present a different view of early English history. As with the choice of the word *garsecg*, these subtle interventions reflect a sophisticated understanding and self-conscious reconceptualization of Bede's salvation history.

Salvation History, Heresy, Unity

As Robert Hanning points out, reading the *Historia Ecclesiastica* as salvation history has been generally accepted at least since Edmond Faral articulated the dynamic (in the context of Bede's debt to Gildas) in 1929.[9] In addition to Hanning, who argues that Bede saw the Saxons as 'the new Israel, chosen by God to replace the sin-stained Britons in the promised land of Britain', H. E. J. Cowdrey, Calvin Kendall, Patrick Wormald and Stephen J. Harris have all developed similar readings of the biblical patterning of the *Historia*

7 Scully, 'Location and Occupation', p. 252.
8 Ibid., pp. 253 and 255.
9 Robert Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain* (New York, 1966), p. 70.

Ecclesiastica, with a focus on the element of the chosen people.[10] Nicholas Howe and Diarmuid Scully, in turn, focus on the importance of place and travel – especially the crossing of the ocean – in salvation history.[11] While Howe begins his discussion with the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and shows Bede's influence in later Anglo-Saxon England, Scully explores the role of patristic and classical sources in the construction of this historical model, their influence on Bede, and the ways in which they stress the importance of Britain's position in the ocean and the farthest reaches of the north. According to Scully,

> Patristic and Insular exegetes, and most powerfully Bede himself, interpreting scripture in the light of Graeco-Roman geographical knowledge, saw in the archipelago's conversion the fulfilment of scriptural commands and prophesies in relation to the extension of salvation to the gentiles at the ends of the earth and the universal mission of Christianity.[12]

Along with changing one's religious beliefs, conversion changes one's sense of self and place in the world. As Roy Liuzza reminds us, 'every reorganization of the social order entails some redrawing of the boundaries between the margin and the center'.[13] Salvation history, as Bede writes it, involves a complex set of factors combining notions about the future, the past, space and place to assert the divine authority driving and authorizing both hegemony and displacement in the name of the universal Church.

To be more specific, in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, heresy, as a course taken away from the universal mission of Christianity, plays a key role in the way that Bede justifies his redrawing of the boundaries in Britain and the driving of the Britons from the center to the margins. From this perspective, the role of the Pelagian heresy and Easter controversy in Bede's providential history can be read as closely linked to the larger patristic context articulated by Scully.[14] By presenting Pelagius as a snake whose teachings corrupt the British, Bede connects the Pelagian heresy directly to the 'fall' of the Britons; their refusal to accept the Roman Easter, and the 'geðeodnesse ealra godes cyricena' ('unity of all God's churches') finalizes their expulsion from the paradisiacal island.[15]

Bede adapts his account of the fall of Britain from Gildas' *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*.[16] The rhetorical brilliance with which he does so

10 Ibid.; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Bede and the English People', *Journal of Religious History* 11.4 (1981), 501–23; Calvin Kendall, 'Imitation and the Venerable Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*', in *Saints, Scholars, and Heroes*, ed. M. H. King and W. M. Stevens (Collegeville, MN, 1979), I, pp. 145–59; Goffart, *Narrators*; and Harris, *Race and Ethnicity*. See also J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Bede and Plummer', in his *Historical Commentary*, p. xx.

11 Nicholas Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven, 1989); Scully, 'Location and Occupation'.

12 Scully, 'Location and Occupation', p. 256.

13 Roy M. Liuzza, 'The Tower of Babel: The Wanderer and the Ruins of History', *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 36.1 (2003), 1–35, at p. 16.

14 Sharon M. Rowley, 'Reading Miracles in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*', Diss. Univ. of Chicago, 1996, DAI 57A (1996).

15 *OEHE* V.20, pp. 472–3.

16 Gildas, *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Anitquissimi 13 (1898). Also *The Ruin of Britain*, ed. Michael Winterbottom (London,

has been commented on extensively: Calvin Kendall has demonstrated the paradisiacal qualities of Bede's descriptions of Britain and Ireland, Hanning has analyzed Bede's account of the fall of Britain and the rise of English hegemony in terms of 'the spiritual progress of a chosen barbarian nation', and Howe has demonstrated the pervasive significance of this dynamic as migration mythology in the writings of Bede, Alcuin and Wulfstan, and in later Anglo-Saxon literature.[17] In Howe's formulation, Bede uses the 'island as a stage for the drama of spiritual life'. A series of balanced, repetitive accounts of sea crossings by the island's first inhabitants, the Romans, Germanus of Auxerre, and then by the Angles, leads to the conversion and eventual political hegemony of the English, with possession of the island Paradise standing as testimony to their status as a chosen people.[18]

As Patrick Wormald points out, however, status as a chosen people comes with a catch, of which Bede was well aware. According to Wormald,

> the Britons proved unworthy of the Roman and Christian civilizations that were brought to them. . . . Rome came again to Kent, in the person of Augustine, not Julius Caesar. The English fell heirs to what the Britons lacked the grace to deserve. The concluding notes of Bede's history are seemingly triumphalist. But they convey a severe warning, which cannot have been far from Bede's mind, given that a letter written to the bishop of York shortly afterwards laid into the shortcomings of the Church in his own time (*English Historical Documents*: vol. I, 799–810): were the English to follow the Britons down the same sinful path, they would surely meet the same fate. The *gens Anglorum* too was a people of the Covenant.[19]

One need not go outside the *Historia Ecclesiastica* to demonstrate Bede's concern. In 731, as he was completing the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bede observed that the rule of Ceolwulf, the king to whom he dedicates his history, has 'been filled with so many and such serious commotions and setbacks that it is as yet impossible to know what to say about them or to guess what the outcome will be'.[20] Nevertheless, Bede concludes with optimistic observations about prosperity and the rise of monasticism:

> in these favorable times of peace and prosperity, many of the Northumbrian race, both noble and simple, have laid aside their weapons and taken the tonsure, preferring that they and their children should take monastic vows than train themselves in the art of war. What the result will be, a later generation will discover.[21]

1978) and *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. D. Dumville and M. Lapidge (Woodbridge, 1984).

17 Kendall, 'Imitation'; Hanning, *Vision of History*, p. 67; Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, pp. 8–32.

18 Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, p. 65. Scully adds to this the substitution of Christ in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* for military conquests in the earlier sources, 'Location and Occupation', p. 258.

19 Wormald, 'Engla Lond', p. 14.

20 *HE* V.23, p. 559.

21 *HE* V.23, p. 561. Colgrave and Mynors, in a note to this passage, suggest that this passage ought to be interpreted pessimistically, in light of Bede's criticism of Northumbrian monasticism in the *Letter to Ecgbert*. However, Bede is full of praise for kings who leave their thrones to end their lives in monastic habit, such as Cædwalla (V.7–8), Cenred and Offa (V.19). There are also multiple examples of apostate kings suffering political setbacks or even illness and madness until they return to Christianity, such as Eadbald (II.5), Eanfrith and Osric (III.1). Similarly, Cenwealh, 'who was suffering heavy losses in his kingdom', remembering that Christianity had once restored his kingdom to him and protected it, recalled the bishops and made amends (III.7–8).

Despite the concerns Bede voices two pages earlier, the overarching narrative pattern he has been establishing for hundreds of pages suggests that the result here should be that Christianity fosters continued peace and prosperity, but reality fails to conform to historical patterning. Rather, Northumbrian hegemony was waning already in the days of Bede, then the sacks of Lindisfarne and Jarrow in 793–4 inaugurated a series of invasions that changed the map of Anglo-Saxon England radically in terms of political power and cultural demographics. As I discuss in Chapter 2, between Bede's day and the tenth century, the center of power in England shifted from Northumbria to Mercia and then Wessex. Alfred's famous 'Letter to Wærferth' has made the extent of the destruction axiomatic.[22]

During this period, some of the written evidence that we have suggests that Bede's reading of salvation history provided a meaningful model for interpreting the Scandinavian invasions. Alcuin provides useful evidence of the reception of this reading of history immediately after Bede, as well as after the sacks of Lindisfarne and Jarrow in 793–4. In his *Versus de Patribus Regibus et Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, Alcuin writes of the Anglo-Saxons as the New Israelites, though the poem reflects no sense of immediate peril or warning.[23] In contrast, in his letter to Ethelhard after the attack in 793, Alcuin exclaims that 'such a voyage was not thought possible', and interprets the Viking attacks as divine punishment.[24] Similarly, in his 'Letter to Wærferth', Alfred directs his reader:

> Geðenc hwelc witu us ða becomon for ðisse worulde, ða ða we hit nohwæðer ne selfe ne lufodon ne eac oðrum monnum ne lefdon: ðone naman anne we lufodon ðæt we Cristne wæren, ond swiðe feawe ða ðeawas.
>
> [Remember what punishments befell us in this world when we ourselves did not cherish learning nor transmit it to other men. We were Christians in name alone, and very few of us possessed Christian virtues.] [25]

In the context of his discussion of learning in England before the churches were destroyed in Scandinavian attacks, Alfred is clearly reading the invasions as punishment for failures in wisdom and learning as specifically Christian virtues. Similar readings appear in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the transmission of which spans the later Anglo-Saxon period; it is safe to say that by the time of Wulfstan, archbishop of York (d. 1023), it was standard historiographical practice to read the raids as divine punishment in a tradition that traces back through Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* to Gildas.

It would seem safe to assume that the *OEHE* disseminated Bede's formulation of salvation history into later Anglo-Saxon England, but it did not.

Bede has nothing but praise for the kings-turned-monks, and clearly implies a connection between Christianity, especially monastic Christianity, success and well-being.

22 Alfred, 'Prose Preface', in Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 124–6.

23 Peter Godman dates the poem either to 785 or some time between 790–3, in, *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York* (Oxford, 1982), pp. xlii–xliii.

24 Quoted in Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, p. 24.

25 Alfred, 'Prose Preface', ed. Sweet, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 5, translation in Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 125.

Although Bede's Old English translators were working after more than a century of Scandinavian invasions and significant demographic change on the island, and although the *OEHE* was translated and transmitted between the reign of Alfred and the archiepiscopacy of Wulfstan, it treats this theme differently. The *OEHE* draws no parallels with the ninth-century invasions. By eschewing this popular contemporary reading of history, the *OEHE* separates itself ideologically from many other Old English texts. A pointed example is the complete omission of Bede's famous statement that

> To other unspeakable crimes, which Gildas their own historian describes in doleful words, was added this crime, that they never preached the faith to the Saxons or Angles who inhabited Britain with them. Nevertheless, God in His goodness did not reject the people whom He foreknew, but He had appointed much worthier heralds of the truth to bring this people to the faith.[26]

This is Bede's most explicit statement of the chosen status of the Germanic tribes; by removing it, Bede's English translator signals a major shift in his reading of British history.

Similarly, the *OEHE* fails to demonstrate the same 'rhythm of repetition' that Howe observes in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and other Anglo-Saxon texts.[27] By removing much of the Roman history and eliminating the Pelagian controversy, the translator removes the multiple water crossings that reiterate the coming of Christianity over the water, and parallel the subsequent invitation to the Germanic tribes.[28] Consequently, the parallels and repetitions that Howe has shown to be constitutive of Bede's migration mythology have been significantly reduced in the *OEHE*. While Howe's insights into the rhetoric of history in Anglo-Saxon England remain valuable for understanding Bede's synthesizing narrative, as well as the ways in which that narrative was transmitted and turned into a cautionary tale, the *OEHE* cannot be said to transmit intact either the migration mythology or the structure of salvation history of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

The frequency with which later Anglo-Saxon authors imitated Bede's model of history reflects the extent to which it resonated with later English audiences of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. That his main Old English translator chose not to transmit Bede's model intact sets his work apart. The translator was working between *c.* 883 and 930, quite possibly at a time before anyone could be certain of the relative long-term stability of Alfred's military and political successes. Clearly, the translator was well aware that the most recent peoples crossing the waters to England compromised more than the symbolic position of the English, and he was probably reluctant to read the 'disintegration or destruction of the several once independent kingdoms' as the harbinger of future peace and unity.[29]

26 *HE* I.22, p. 69. Cowdrey, 'Bede and the English People', points to this as a key passage (p. 504), as does Wormald, 'Engla Lond', p. 14.

27 Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, p. 51. It should be noted that Howe's primary focus is Bede's *HE*, not the *OEHE*.

28 Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, p. 65.

29 Hunter Blair, *Introduction*, p. 87.

The Pelagian Heresy: Presence, Absence, Transformation

Rather than transmitting Bede's salvation history intact, the translator recasts the 'fall' to emphasize not the inner depravity and moral weakness of the Britons, but their military failures and their proud rejection of Augustine's Roman teachings, the latter of which keeps them outside the universal Church of Bede's prophetic history. Because Bede uses the symbols and images he associates with the Pelagian heresy as key terms in his narrative of salvation history, changing some episodes concerning these issues and removing others reshapes the larger narrative significantly. In the absence of the Pelagian heresy, the British refusal to accept Roman Easter practices bears greater symbolic significance in the *OEHE*, specifically in relation to the ultimate displacement of the Britons. These differences accumulate in Books I and V, those most radically altered by Bede's translator, creating a very different frame for the accounts of conversions, kings and saints that occupy the central books of the *OEHE*.

In the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bede portrays heresy as a pestilence or even as a kind of demonic possession that reflects the moral laxity of the Britons; this is a major change from the way he discusses the heresy in his *Chronica Maiora*, where he shows the Britons resisting and defeating it.[30] The Pelagian heresy, which originated in the early-fifth century, essentially asserts that humans must will to sin.[31] According to Pelagius, baptism provides full freedom of action through the absolute remission of sin. After this, humans must freely will to do good or evil. Building on his presentation of Britain as Eden, Bede quotes verses by Prosper of Aquitaine to describe Pelagius as a snake – a piteous worm who 'defiled the faith of the Britons with a deadly contagion', which spreads across the island as a 'treacherous poison'.[32] In the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, St. Germanus comes across the water to eradicate this *pestis*. He performs several healing miracles to demonstrate his divine sanction, followed by the famous 'Alleluia victory'. Germanus's healing miracles are symbolically revealing: he restores sight to the blind daughter of a tribune, and heals the withered leg of the son of a chief.[33]

The sick children of the British leaders symbolize the hereditary infirmity of the nation, which must be healed by the foreign saint Germanus. Once

30 Diarmuid Scully, 'Bede's *Chronica Maiora*: Early Insular History in a Universal Context', in *Anglo-Saxon/Irish Relations before the Vikings*, Proceedings of the British Academy 157, ed. James Graham-Campbell and Michael Ryan (Oxford, 2009), pp. 47–73, at pp. 65–6.

31 Conversely, that divine grace is unnecessary for salvation. B. R. Rees, *The Letters of Pelagius and his Followers* (New York, 1991), p. 6. Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Los Angeles, 1967), pp. 361–2. See also John Morris, 'Pelagian Literature', *The Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 16 (Oxford, 1965), 26–60.

32 *HE* I.17, pp. 54–5, translation mine. Colgrave and Mynors translate this phrase mildly as 'had corrupted the faith of Britain with its foul taint'. *Pestis*, however, carries the stronger meaning of 'a deadly, esp. infectious disease, a plague, pest, pestilence', and *commaculo* is 'to spot, stain, pollute, defile on all sides'. *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford, 1879), pp. 1364 and 375, respectively. 'Against our need of heavenly grace [Pelagius] spread his treacherous poison far and wide', *HE* I.x, pp. 38–9.

33 *HE* I.17–19, pp. 54–61.

infected by the sin introduced by Pelagius the snake into the Eden of pre-fall Britain, the Britons succumb again and again, failing to remain strong across even one generation without external ministration. With these images, Bede develops a resonance between what he represents as the British propensity to heresy and original sin. Like original sin, this propensity is transmitted uncontrollably, albeit symbolically, to their children. It must be washed away and struggled against actively according to the teachings of the Church. But this is where the Britons fail, allowing Bede to heighten his representation of their unworthiness with the images of a kind of uncontrollable, infectious sin. These images, along with the repeated failures of will and fortitude of the Britons in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, demonstrate why they are displaced by the English.

Although Bede follows Gildas in seeing the fall of Britain as divine punishment, it is important to note that Gildas never mentions the Pelagian heresy. In fact, Bede has no British source for his account of the Pelagian heresy; his sources are Continental: Prosper of Aquitaine's *Epitoma Chronicorum* for his account of the Pelagian heresy[34] and Constantius's *Vita S. Germani* for his information about the saint.[35] While Whitelock's observation that the translator of the *OEHE* removes accounts of foreign saints remains technically accurate in this case,[36] the narrative impact is that the translator omits a substantial amount of material that depicts the Britons as unworthy of possessing the island.

While the *OEHE* does follow its source in representing the Britons as cowardly, the difference is that in the vernacular version they are neither subject to the moral illness of heresy, nor are they unambiguous exemplars of a repeated failure to learn from history.[37] Nevertheless, the translator's erasure of Pelagianism from the fall of Britain transforms Book I of the *OEHE* into a very different account of early England. Bede weaves the Pelagian heresy into the fabric of his salvation history, in which it becomes symbolic of British unworthiness. By removing this symbolism, the main translator excises layers of symbolism constitutive of Bede's representation of English history as salvation history.

The chart of chapter-breaks in Appendix I demonstrates the degree to which the *OEHE* changes the shape of Book I. In addition to removing the Pelagian heresy, the *OEHE* breaks some chapters in different places. Not visible from the chart is the degree to which the language has also been tempered, and the

34 *Epitoma Chronicorum*, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 9 (1892), pp. 385–485, *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register*, http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/, accessed 31 February 2007. See also *HE*, p. 38, n. 2.

35 Constantius, *Vita S. Germani*, ed. R. Borius, *Sources chrétiennes* 112 (Paris, 1965), pp. 109–205, *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register*, http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/, accessed 31 February 2007. See also *HE*, p. 54, n. 2.

36 Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', 232.

37 This less pejorative treatment of the Britons is in line with what John Gillingham sees as a trend in late Anglo-Saxon written works, treating the British, Irish and Welsh as 'people like any other', rather than as barbarians, as earlier and later writers do. John Gillingham, 'The Beginnings of English Imperialism', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 5.4 (1992), 392–409, at p. 398.

extent to which *OEHE* recasts much of what remains in Book I; the rhetorical effect, as a close, comparative examination demonstrates, is to dismantle Bede's powerfully biblical images of the British propensity toward heresy.

In the *OEHE*, a full, detailed and accurate translation of Bede's account of St. Alban casts British Christianity in a strikingly positive light. The translator then omits Bede's short, but poetic and striking, introductory chapter about the Pelagian heresy in chapter 10. He condenses the attacks and successes of the Britons in the next few chapters, then cuts six entire chapters, removing all references to snakes, pestilence and St. Germanus. Significant changes in the language of the chapters that remain begin with Bede's introduction of the Arian heresy in chapter 8, where he lays the ground for the susceptibility of the Britons to the poison of heresy in general. Bede writes:

> Mansitque haec in ecclesiis Christi quae erant in Brittania pax usque ad tempora Arrianae uaesaniae, quae corrupto orbe toto hanc etiam insulam extra orbem tam longe remotam ueneno sui infecit erroris; et hac quasi uia pestilentiae trans Oceanum patefacta, non mora, omnis se lues hereseos cuiusque insulae noui semper aliquid audire gaudenti et nihil certi firmiter obtinenti infudit.
>
> [The churches of Britain remained at peace until the time of the Arian madness, which corrupted the whole world and even infected this island, sundered so far from the rest of mankind, with the poison of its error. This quickly opened up the way for every foul heresy from across the Ocean to pour into an island which always delights in hearing something new and holds firmly to no sure belief.][38]

The *OEHE*, in contrast, omits the language of poison and propensity: 'þeos sibb awunade on Cristes cyrican, ða þe on Brytene wæron, oð ða tide þe se Arrianisca gedweolda aras' ('That peace continued ever afterwards in the churches of Christ that were in Britain until the Arian heresy arose').[39]

Similarly, in the Latin, the Romans attribute the British losses to sloth: 'ipsos potius monent arma corripere et certandi cum hostibus studium subire, qui non aliam ob causam, quam si ipsi inertia soluerentur, eis possent esse fortiores' ('they advised them to take up arms themselves and make an effort to oppose their foes, who would prove too powerful for them only if they themselves were weakened by sloth').[40] The *OEHE* rewords this less negatively, eliminating the reference to sloth, and reporting that the Romans 'manedon ⁊ lærdon þæt hi him wæpno worhton ⁊ modes strengðo naman þæt hi compedon ⁊ wiðstodan heora feondum' ('warned and instructed them that they make weapons and take strength of heart and withstand their enemies and fight').[41] While the Briton soldiers remain 'cowardly', and the townsmen 'miserable' as they are driven from their homes in the next part of this chapter, they do not, as in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, make matters worse by also thieving amongst themselves.

Bede reports that 'unde a mansionibus ac possessiunculis suis eiecti, inminens sibi famis periculum latrocinio ac rapacitate mutua temperabant,

38 *HE* I.8, pp. 34–7.
39 *OEHE* I.8, pp. 42–3.
40 *HE* I.12, pp. 42–3.
41 *OEHE* I.9, pp. 44–7.

augentes externas domesticis motibus clades, donec omnis regio totius cibi sustentaculo, excepto uenandi solacio, uacuaretur' ('They were driven from their dwellings and poor estates; they tried to save themselves from the starvation which threatened them by robbing and plundering each other. Thus they increased their external calamities by internal strife until the whole land was left without food and destitute, except for such relief as hunting brought').[42] The *OEHE*, in contrast, reduces this passage significantly, reading: 'swa þa earman ceasterwaran toslitene ⁊ fornumene wæron fram heora feondum ⁊ heora æhtum benémde ⁊ to hungre gesette'[43] ('so the miserable townsmen were torn to pieces and destroyed by their enemies and deprived of their possessions and exposed to famine'). Internal strife exacerbates external distress in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, suggesting that the Britons are their own worst enemies, but this is not the case in the *OEHE*.

When famine strikes in the wider world, the *OEHE* manipulates the chapter-breaks, beginning chapter 11 with the famine at Constantinople rather than its worsening in Britain. Rhetorically, this tactic contextualizes the British suffering as part of the troubles of the wider world, rather than focusing on them as specific punishment for the Britons' depravity. Subsequently, however, the Old English follows the Latin very closely in this chapter. The Britons drive back their enemies, and have a good year – which unfortunately leads to riotous living, hatred for the truth, lying, drunkenness, pride, strife, contention. Plague strikes again, this time so devastatingly that there are too few living to bury the dead, but the Britons do not reform. Instead, even in the *OEHE*, they bring on the death of their own souls, and 'Forþon nalæs æfter myclum fæce grimmre wræc þa þære fyrenfullan þeode þæs grimman mannes wæs æfterfyligende' ('therefore, by no means after a long time, a more grim punishment for their terrible sin persecuted this sinful people').[44]

Chapter 12 in the *OEHE* stays quite close to the Latin (chapter 15), at least initially, so that chapters 11–12 form the heart of the fall of Britain in the *OEHE*. The translator maintains the comparison Bede adopts from Gildas, that of the Chaldeans burning Jerusalem as the just vengeance of God, though he makes significant changes immediately afterwards. In the Latin, the Saxons insisted that

> nisi profusior sibi alimentorum copia daretur, se cuncta insulae loca rupto foedere uastaturos. Neque aliquanto segnius minas effectibus prosequuntur. Siquidem, ut breuiter dicam, accensus manibus paganorum ignis iustas de sceleribus populi Dei ultiones expetiit, non illius inpar qui quondam a Chaldaeis succensus Hierosolymorum moenia, immo aedificia cuncta consumsit. Sic enim et hic agente impio uictore, immo disponente iusto Iudice, proximas quasque ciuitates agrosque depopulans, ab orientali mari usque ad occidentale nullo prohibente suum continuauit incendium, totamque prope insulae pereuntis superficiem obtexit.

42 *HE* I.12, pp. 44–5.
43 *OEHE* I.9, pp. 46–7.
44 *OEHE* I.12, p. 50, translation mine.

[unless they received still greater supplies, they would break the treaty and lay waste every part of the island. Nor were they slow in carrying out their threats. To put it briefly, the fire kindled by the hands of the heathen executed the just vengeance of God on the nation for its crimes. It was not unlike that fire once kindled by the Chaldeans which consumed the walls and all the buildings of Jerusalem. So here in Britain the just Judge ordained that the fire of their brutal conquerors should ravage all the neighboring cities and countryside from the east to the western sea, and burn on, with no one to hinder it, until it covered almost the whole face of the doomed island.][45]

To which the Old English conforms:

cyðdon him openlice ⁊ sædon butan hi him maran andlyfne sealdon þæt hi woldan him sylfe niman ⁊ hergian þær hi hit findan mihton ⁊ sona ða beotunge dædum gefyldon: bærndon ⁊ hergedon ⁊ slogan fram eastsæ oð west sæ · ⁊ him nænig wiðstód. Ne wæs ungelic wræcc þam ðe iú Chaldeas bærndon Hierusaleme weallas ⁊ ða cynelican getimbro mid fyre fornaman for ðæs Godes folces synnum. Swa þonne her fram þære arleasan ðeode hwæðere rihte Godes dome neh ceastra gehwylce ⁊ land forheregeode wæron.[46]

[announced to them publicly and said unless they gave them more sustenance, that they would take it themselves and pillage where they might find it. And they soon fulfilled that threat: they burned and pillaged and slew from east sea to west sea. And soon none withstood them. The retribution was not unlike that when the Chaldeans burned the walls of Jerusalem and destroyed the kingly buildings with fire for the sins of God's people. So then here, nevertheless by God's just judgment, very nearly every town and land were plundered from that miserable people.]

Although this passage reads the punishment of the Britons as the 'just judgment' of 'God's people', the treacherous behavior of the Germanic tribes mitigates the degree to which one can read this passage alone as transmitting Bede's salvation history given the other extensive omissions. Without Bede's repetition, and in the absence of the powerful images of heresy and pestilence, this passage has very little to build on symbolically in the *OEHE*.

The translator rearranges the next section of his source to shift the emphasis away from this decline to the success of Ambrosius, who stands against the invaders. To do so, the *OEHE* collapses the next chapter of the Latin into this chapter – so that despite this slaughter, the Britons rally to pray for heaven's aid 'all with one accord', and recover under Ambrosius Aurelianus to make a great slaughter of the Saxons, 'þa heo micel wæl on Ongolcynne geslogon' ('there they made a great carnage of the Angles').[47] Although the Latin places the rally under Ambrosius in its own chapter, the manipulation of the chapter-breaks in the *OEHE* both here and at the beginning of the previous chapter about the famine moves the Britons' sufferings, sins and losses out of the rhetorically stressed positions.

It is at this point that the *OEHE* removes all of Bede's chapters about Germanus and the Pelagians. By the end of this section in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*,

45 *HE* I.15–16, pp. 52–3.
46 *OEHE* I.12, p. 52, translation mine.
47 *OEHE* I.12, pp. 54–5.

Bede has repeated the pattern of falling off from unity, orthodox Christianity and losing to the invaders, followed by faith (or proper instruction in faith/ purification), recovery and success, several times in the Latin, and twice specifically in reference to the Pelagian heresy. The *OEHE* significantly alters this pattern – not only by omission of chapters 17–21, but also by manipulating chapter-breaks.

In a move that is both subtle and invasive, Bede heightens the effect of his images of poison and pestilence by relating the episodes of the Britons' prosperity and decline out of chronological order to establish a historical pattern that correlates prosperity with orthodox Christianity, and disintegration – both physical and national – with the lack thereof. In order to emphasize the wickedness of the Britons and to make the orthodoxy established by Germanus correspond with a general moral upswing after the victory at Mount Badon Hill, Bede recounts the visits in which Germanus refutes the Pelagians – the first of which dates to 429 and the second to 447[48] – only *after* describing the plagues and raids of the mid-fifth century. Moreover, the battle at Mount Badon, which Bede includes *before* his account of Germanus, is believed to have occurred around 500.[49] At the same time the reshaped account of the fall of Britain in the *OEHE* emphasizes military weakness over moral depravity, it also corrects Bede's breach of chronology.[50] By altering chronology, Bede arranges the disasters that befall the Britons so that they culminate with Pelagianism and their failure to learn from history – but this pattern is completely broken in the *OEHE*.

Immediately after Germanus's second departure in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bede gives us his final, summarizing chapter on the fall of the Britons in I.22, which includes the charge quoted above, that the British failure to preach Christianity to the invading Germanic tribes was the culmination of their 'unspeakable crimes'.[51] In the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the Britons, who fail to make what Bede sees as a clear connection between prosperity and orthodox Christianity, repeatedly succumb to illness, heresy and violence against themselves. Their lack of faith and fortitude manifests itself in their anarchy as a people, their constant need for external military help from the Romans and the Saxons, and their need for repeated spiritual guidance and healing from Germanus.

The *OEHE* removes both this famous charge, and the pattern. However,

48 Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 1; Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, p. xiii.

49 According to Colgrave and Mynors (p. 54, n. 1), 'the site of Mount Badon is uncertain, but its date, judging by all available evidence, is believed to be about AD 500 (F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 2 ff.)'. N. J. Higham suggests 430 x 440 the date of the siege: N. J. Higham, *The English Conquest: Gildas and Britain in the Fifth Century* (Manchester, 1994), p. 137. Twentieth-century disputes notwithstanding, Bede was the early medieval authority, so the changes in the *OEHE* remain striking in that context.

50 Although Bede is rightfully praised for the accuracy of his chronology in general, this is not the only part of the *HE* in which Bede manipulates chronology for rhetorical effect. For example, he deploys his account of Oswald artfully. See Ruth Waterhouse, 'Discourse and Hypersignification in Two of Ælfric's Saints' Lives', in *Holy Men and Holy Women*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1996), pp. 333–52.

51 *HE* I.22, pp. 67–9.

despite the revisions I have been discussing, I should stress that there is no point at which the *OEHE* becomes entirely sympathetic to, or uncritical of, the Britons. They remain 'wiðcorenan' ('reprobate'), a 'fyrenfullan þeode' ('a sinful people') given to 'yrgþo' ('sluggishness'). They are not, however, tainted with a contagion that weakens their children and requires repeated intervention by a saint from across the sea. What stands out most strongly in the *OEHE* is that the Britons repeatedly fail to withstand their enemies in battle because they are weak and cowardly, and that they are too proud to hear the Catholic teachings of Augustine concerning Easter and the tonsure, which become the central issues in Bede's account of the unification of the English, Irish and Pictish Churches across the remainder of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *OEHE*.

'Butan geþeodnesse ealra godes cyricena'[52]

Pride and the resistance to Roman teachings become the two dominant themes in the *OEHE*'s representation of the transition to English dominance of the island. Omitting the chapters on Germanus in Book I, the *OEHE* moves directly from Ambrosius to Augustine so that the next encounter with the Britons is the famous encounter at Augustine's Oak, closely followed by the occasion where the Briton priests refuse to hear Augustine's teachings because he sits in their presence, which they interpret as pride. The omissions in the *OEHE* create an irony surrounding this charge of pride, which the Britons become terribly guilty of themselves. In the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the Britons, under the leadership of Germanus, win a miraculous victory against the Saxons and Picts by crying 'Alleluia'. This victory by divine agency unambiguously confirms their Christianity, and, in a sense, gives the British bishops a miraculous footing from which to argue for maintaining their own practices unless Augustine can prove himself worthy. In the *OEHE*, however, the Britons never enact this powerful miraculous confirmation of their faith, so their rejection of Augustine and his teaching seems to stand on what now looks like unfounded pride alone.

Although some specific Britons, especially Cadwallon, appear in the intervening sections of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bede and his translator turn their attention to the conversion and concerns of the Germanic tribes. When Bede returns to a more generalized discussion of the Britons and their loss of the island in Book V, pride, the refusal to preach and the willful, continued separation of themselves from the universal Roman Church lead to British subjection for the rest of Bede's history. Although this charge of failing to preach is removed from Book I of the *OEHE* (along with the rest of I.22), the *OEHE* includes an identical charge, along with all of the hostile language with which Bede excoriates the Britons in Book V. In the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, when Bede repeats the charge, he creates a strong verbal link connecting the

[52] 'Outside the unity of all God's churches', *OEHE* V.20, p. 472.

matter of Book I with that of Book V, calling specific attention to I.22, where he reiterates the 'crimes' of the Britons in detail. This frame has been dismantled in the *OEHE*. In Book V, however, the translator does something rather uncharacteristic, he *adds* details to the Latin when he presents the charge. As he does so, he emphasizes the Briton refusal to follow the Roman practices of tonsure and Easter, essentially minimizing the range of crimes Bede recounts and focusing attention on Easter and the tonsure. The *OEHE* reads:

> swa swa bryttas wiððon, þe næfre woldon þa cyððo þæs cristenan geleafan þe hi hæfdon, Angelcynne openian ⁊ cyðan ono þa gelyfendum eft Angelfolcum ⁊ þurh eall well ontimbredum ⁊ gelæredum on regole rihtes geleafan · hi nu gýt heora ealdan gewunan healdað ⁊ fram rihtum stigum healtiað ⁊ heora heafod ywað bútan beage Scē Petres sceare ⁊ cristes symbelnesse rihte Eastran butan geðeodnesse ealra Godes cyricena healdað ⁊ weorþiað.

> [Just as the Britons, on the contrary, who never wanted to reveal and make known the knowledge of the Christian faith that they had to the English, and again with the English folk believing – and through all well instructed and taught in the rule of right faith – they now yet hold to their old habits and limp from the right path, and they show their heads without the crown of St. Peter's shears, and they withhold themselves from the proper festivity of Christ's Easter and dwell outside the unity of all of God's churches.][53]

In many ways, this follows Bede's Latin closely:

> Sicut econtra Brettones, qui nolebant Anglis eam quam habebant fidei Christianae notitiam pandere, credentibus iam populis Anglorum et in regula fidei catholicae per omnia instructis, ipsi adhuc inueterati et claudicantes a semitis suis et capita sine corona praetendunt et sollemnia Christi sine ecclesiae Christi societate uenerantur.

> [On the other hand the Britons, who would not proclaim to the English the knowledge of the Christian faith which they had, still persist in their errors and stumble in their ways, so that no tonsure is to be seen on their heads and they celebrate Christ's solemn festivals differently from the fellowship of the Church of Christ, while the English are not only believers but are fully instructed in the rules of the catholic faith.][54]

B has an interesting variation here, reading 'ealdigað' for 'healtiað'.[55] Although this may be an error, the *OEHE* is famous for its tautological, alliterating word-pairs. Here, the repetition of *eald–ealdian* forms a different kind of pair. It emphasizes the old, non-Roman practices of the Britons in contrast to the Roman practices of the others. While the emphasis on 'old' may also constitute a nod toward the Old/New Israel logic of Book I of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, placing such a nod here in Book V separates it from the migration context, emphasizing their obstinate refusal to join the unity of the Roman Church with the rest of the island.

Notably, Bede's translator also uses the phrase 'butan beage scē petres scare' ('without the crown of St. Peter's shears') to translate 'corona' or tonsure,

53 *OEHE* V.20, p. 472, my literal translation.
54 *HE* V.22, pp. 554–5.
55 B468/8–24.

a move he repeats moments later. When the Picts conform to the Roman Easter under Nechtan, the translator reiterates the idea that they receive the tonsure with the phrase 'on ðone beh Scē Petres sceare' ('in the crown of St. Peter's shears'), where Bede uses the term 'corona'.[56] In both instances, Bede's translator introduces 'of St. Peter's shears' in addition to the *beag* or crown of the tonsure. Although a mere phrase, the image it introduces resonates powerfully: the reiteration of St. Peter's name insists upon the importance of the apostolic authority of Rome as personified by St. Peter, and the Old English feminine noun *scear* ('scissors, shears') puns on the Old English masculine noun *scear* ('ploughshare'), a term with highly patristic connotations.[57] The homophony here links the outward sign of the tonsure as submission to 'St. Peter's shears' with submission to the discipline of patristic doctrine and a specifically Roman authority – that of the universal Church.[58]

As Bede describes the relative peace in England in the early-eighth century at the end of Book V, the *OEHE* follows him closely. Both emphasize the fragmentation and isolation of the Britons in contrast with the unity of the English, Irish and Picts in Bede's vision of the universal Church. The acceptance of uniform Easter practices is central to the peace Bede describes among these peoples. He tells us that the Picts accepted the Roman Easter,[59] and that the Irish had begun 'to celebrate the chief festival after the catholic and apostolic manner'.[60] To some extent, religious unity coincides with political peace among these people: the Picts and English live under treaty in 'the Catholic peace and truth of the Church universal', while the Irish in Britain are, at least, 'no longer devising plots . . . to increase their territories'.[61]

In contrast with the English and the Irish, who are now thoroughly 'instructed in the rules of the Catholic faith in every respect', Bede reiterates that the Britons obstinately refuse to join in this unity.[62] Correspondingly, 'they cannot obtain what they want' with respect to either God or man, and live partly as 'their own masters, yet . . . partly under the rule of the English'.[63] Bede brings his themes together so that the British failures stand in stark contrast to the English successes. By repeatedly stressing the fragmentation, political servitude, and unorthodoxy of the Britons in the three penultimate chapters of Book V, Bede and his translator frame his account of English

56 *OEHE*, p. 470; *HE* V.11, pp. 552–3.
57 Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 824.
58 'Scear' translates 'uomer' in Ælfric's *Grammar* 9, 28: Helmut Gneuss and Julius Zupitza, *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar: Text und Varianten* (Hildesheim, 2001), pp. 55–6. See also Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsey, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), VI.9, p. 2; and J. Gellrich, *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1985), p. 137, who discuss the term in reference to medieval commentary. It is also worth noting that Nechtan's interest in and pursuit of the 'correct' (Roman) practices align him with the many English kings who intuitively understand and adopt Roman practices. They model the virtue of receptiveness to Roman Christianity so patently missing from Bede's representations of the Britons.
59 *HE* V.21, p. 553.
60 *HE* V.22, p. 555.
61 *HE* V.23, p. 561.
62 *HE* V.22, p. 554, translation mine.
63 *HE* V.23, p. 561.

history with clear examples of British failures and losses because of divergent Easter practices. In contrast, Irish and Pictish conversions lead to peace and prosperity, corroborating Bede's narrative of English salvation history.

Easter

Although the connection between the Pelagian heresy and the Easter controversy has been treated as mistaken or 'mysterious',[64] Bede includes two letters in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* that directly connect them: pope-elect John's letter to the Irish and Ceolfrith's letter to King Nechtan.[65] He makes a similar connection in *The Reckoning of Time*.[66] As Dáibhni Ó Cróinan explains, celebrating the incorrect Easter denies 'the efficacy of the Resurrection as the true instrument of man's redemption', so that a disregard for proper Easter practices can be read as being like a Pelagian rejection of man's need for grace.[67] In the hands of Bede, these two themes become related, ideological tools for distinguishing those worthy of paradise from those who are not.

The *OEHE* treats the Easter controversy differently from the Pelagian heresy; the ways in which it edits and reworks Bede's presentation of the Easter controversy has been the subject of scholarly dispute. Thomas Miller suggests that the main Old English translator 'shows some familiarity with Scotch [Irish] localities and circumstances, and a certain tenderness for national susceptibilities'.[68] Later he notes that 'the tender regard for things of [Ireland] is associated with the Paschal controversy'.[69] Miller asserts that the translator 'suppresses' the harsh language Bede directed toward the Irish, especially his omission of 'the perversity of Iona' (V.15), and the Synod of Whitby (III.25). 'This suppression', Miller argues, 'is all the more remarkable when contrasted with the fidelity which reproduces Bede's bitter language toward the Britons (V.23 and elsewhere)'.[70] However, Miller also concedes that the translator includes harsh criticism against the Irish for wandering during harvest time in IV.4. Even more problematically, Miller goes on to assert that the main Old English translator deleted the account of Fursey on account of 'national jealousies', a claim which is at odds with his own arguments about the main Old English translator's affinity for the Irish.[71] As we have seen, just as Bede's Old English translator cuts some of the bitter

64 Dáibhni Ó Cróinan, 'New Heresy for Old: Pelagianism in Ireland and the Papal Letter of 640', *Speculum* 60.3 (1985), 505–16. See also J. F. Kelley, 'Pelagius, Pelagianism, and the Early Christian Irish', *Mediaevalia* 4 (1978), 96–124.

65 *HE* V.21; *HE* II.19.

66 'For if anyone were to argue that the full Moon can come before the equinox, he would be stating either that the Holy Church existed in its perfection before the Saviour came in the flesh, or that one of the faithful, before the bestowing of His grace, can have something of the supernatural light'. Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, ed. Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians 29 (Liverpool, 1999), p. 26.

67 Ó Cróinan, 'New Heresy', p. 516.

68 *OEHE*, p. lvii.

69 *OEHE*, p. lviii. See Bede, *Reckoning of Time*, ed. Wallis, p. lxxviii.

70 *OEHE*, p. lviii.

71 *OEHE*, p. lviii.

language directed against the Irish, he removes or revises much of the bitter language directed toward the Britons, especially in Book I. Miller's explicit association of the Easter controversy with the Irish glosses over the fact that the bitter but faithful language of V.23 is also about the Easter controversy and any possibility that the editorial principle might have something to do with Easter rather than nationality.

Dorothy Whitelock also finds Miller's ideas unsatisfactory.[72] As I discuss in my introduction, Whitelock believes that the translator edited Bede's account because 'he was not deeply interested in this old controversy'. But she also puts forth the ideas that the translator sought to suppress any suggestion of historical unorthodoxy among the English.[73] Because Bede initiates English Christianity with Augustine's orthodox Catholicism and continually emphasizes the propriety of English observances in contrast to the Irish and British practices, Whitelock's suggestion seems insufficient.

I believe that the main Old English translator edits the Easter controversy because the state of *computus* had changed during the interval between 731 and the late-ninth century, and because of changes in the narrative logic of the text brought on by his complete excision of the Pelagian heresy. Because the translator cuts the Pelagian heresy, he increases the amount of related narrative work that the Easter controversy has to do in the *OEHE*. But because he also cuts major elements like the Synod of Whitby entirely, summarizes Ceolfrith's letter to Nechtan and edits almost all of the details about the equinox, the idea that the reduced account of the Easter controversy somehow still bears more narrative weight may seem contradictory. However, Bede's Old English translator represents the Britons in a less persistently hostile light; he need not scale up his account of the Easter controversy in proportion to his scaling down of the Pelagian heresy. After all, exclusion from Bede's vision of the universal Church remains a sufficiently damning position. The charges against the Britons remain strong in the *OEHE*, but with an emphasis on their failures regarding community, Easter and tonsure.

The historical and intellectual contexts of the *OEHE* also come into play here. An active tradition of *computus* existed in later Anglo-Saxon England, thanks to Bede himself, followed by Alcuin, Ælfric and Byrhtferth.[74] While Bede had to worry that his audience might not know what was right, his translator did not. Orthodoxy had been established. *Computus* shifted from theological and astronomical debates to instructions and tables. Computistical texts were also versified to aid memory, translated into Old English, and even set to music.[75] This makes good sense: after all, the date of Easter organized the calendar for the year. As Roy Liuzza explains, 'spiritual life was shaped by the cycles of the calendar – feasts and fasts, psalms and prayers, repentance and celebration were all performed according to calendrical calculations, and

72 Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', p. 233.
73 Ibid.
74 Whitelock, 'After Bede', in *Bede and his World*, ed. Lapidge, I, pp. 35–50.
75 Bede, *Reckoning of Time*, ed. Wallis, p. xcvii.

their observance was an outward sign of the universal unity of the church'.[76] Accordingly, there is manuscript evidence to demonstrate that, while the controversy had been solved, *computus* was neither old nor dull – and the gravitational pull of Easter symbolism was stronger than ever in the service of the Universal Church.[77]

The *OEHE* recognizes and engages Bede's use of this symbolism, which requires a more detailed explanation. According to Bede's reckoning, Easter should be celebrated on the Sunday of the third week of *Nisan*, which is the first month of the new year according to the Hebrew calendar. The passing of the vernal equinox determines the beginning of the first month, and the first perfect full moon after the equinox, the fifteenth day of the moon, determines the time of the Resurrection and begins the seven-day period of the third week.[78] For Bede, each element of this reckoning possesses allegorical, moral and typological meanings that focus on the dispensation of grace and represent the unity of the Church throughout the world.

Bede inherits this symbolism from Augustine of Hippo, Isidore of Seville and *De Computo Dialogus*, an anonymous Irish text. According to Faith Wallis, the *Dialogus* 'sketch[es] a sort of Christian *quadrivium* of *canon divinus*, *historia*, *numerus*, and *grammatica*'. She also tells us that 'by *numerus* . . . the *Dialogus* plainly means *computus*', which the text treats as crucial. In fact, the *Dialogus* quotes Isidore's assertion that without numbers and calculation, everything would 'lapse into ruin', and that we would lose a key way in which humans are distinguished from beasts.[79]

So when Bede expounds on the proper observances of Easter, moonlight, numbers and grace are symbolically bound up with exegesis and salvation history. Bede's expositions of Easter reckoning do not digress from ecclesiastical history; they form an integral part of it. As the Picts and the Irish convert to keeping Easter in the Roman week, they join the 'complete perfection of the Catholic Church', as signified by the number seven, which stands for the seven churches of Asia, which represent 'the mysteries of the universal Church throughout the world'.[80] For Bede, there is more at stake here than just a day or seven: he deploys the details of and arguments about Easter reckoning throughout the *Historia Ecclesiastica* so as to engage the symbolic meanings of Easter in the service of salvation history.[81]

Bede explicitly connects the failure to observe proper Easter with the Pelagian heresy in V.21 by including Ceolfrith's letter to Nechtan. The letter explains:

76 R. M. Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context: A Survey and Handlist of Manuscripts', *Anglo-Saxon England* 30 (2002), 181–230, at p. 207.

77 I discuss the computistical manuscript evidence in detail in 'Translating History'; see n. 1.

78 *HE* V.21, pp. 534–5. See also *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, ed. C. W. Jones (Cambridge, MA, 1943).

79 Bede, *Reckoning of Time*, ed. Wallis, p. xxiii.

80 Bede, *Reckoning of Time*, ed. Wallis, p. 154.

81 Several symbolically important moments occur at or around Easter in the *HE*: King Edwin's promise to convert, along with the birth and consecration of his daughter (see Chapter 6); Oswald's breaking of the silver plate and blessing by Aidan, III.6, p. 230; the treacherous murder of Peada, who converted the Middle Angles, III.24, p. 294; and the death of Ecgbert, V.22, pp. 554–5.

Qui ergo plenitudinem lunae paschalis ante aequinoctium prouenire posse contenderit, talis in mysteriorum celebratione maximorum a sanctarum quidem scripturarum doctrina discordat: concordat autem eis, qui sine praeueniente gratia Christi se saluari posse confidunt, qui et si uera lux tenebras mundi moriendo ac resurgendo numquam uicisset, perfectam se habere posse iustitiam dogmatizare praesumunt.

[Whoever argues . . . that the full Paschal moon can fall before the equinox disagrees with the teaching of the holy Scriptures in the celebration of the greatest mysteries, and agrees with those who trust that they can be saved without Christ's prevenient grace and who presume to teach that they could have attained to perfect righteousness even though the true Light had never conquered the darkness of the world by dying and rising again.][82]

The images of light and salvation that Bede articulates here through Nechtan summarize the main aspects of Easter symbolism: the full day of light after the equinox represents Christ's conquering death by enlightening the world with grace and the fulfillment of the Word. 'Those who trust that they can be saved without the grace of Christ' are the Pelagians – which in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* means the Britons. By comparing the Pelagian heresy with the failure to observe the equinox when calculating Easter, then, Bede links the failure to read the astronomical symbolism correctly with an overt denial of man's need for grace. He has created resonances on several levels: as he connects Pelagianism with improper Easter practices, he links the symbolism of Eden with the symbolism of astronomy, and salvation history and *computus* in the early-eighth century.

The *OEHE* streamlines Bede's account of the Easter controversy without entirely dismantling the powerful symbolism associated with it. To be more precise, the *OEHE* includes one clear statement of the rules, then eliminates repetition and most explanations of the technical details. Easter, however, remains central to the unity of the island in the *OEHE*. Crucial moments of conversion, like that of King Edwin and the death of Ecgbert, also occur at Easter, marking the importance of the symbolism in the vernacular version.

The *OEHE* chooses to locate its one clear statement of proper Easter observances at Theodore's Synod of Hertford (672). This choice not only recognizes Theodore's archepiscopacy as the high point of learning in the early English Church (following Bede's assertion), but also marks what Colgrave and Mynors call 'the first provincial synod of the reorganized English Church'.[83] Because the bishops unanimously agree and place Easter at the top of their list, this synod provides the ideal authoritative context for stating the proper observance of Easter in the *OEHE*: 'Is se æresta capitul: þæt we ealle gemænelice healdan þone halgan dæg Eastrena þy Drihtenlecan dæge æfter þæm feowerteogðan monan þæs ærestan monþes' ('The first chapter is that we all in common observe the holy day of Easter on the Lord's day after the fourteenth moon

82 *HE* V.21 pp. 544–5, translation emended from 'the grace of Christ preventing them' to 'without Christ's prevenient grace (i.e. grace irrespective of merit)' to bring the translation more closely in line with Bede's Latin. Thanks to Raeleen Chai-Elsholz for pointing this out to me.

83 *HE* IV.2, pp. 332–5 and 348, n.1.

of the first month').[84] The manuscripts of the *OEHE* reflect the authority of Theodore's synod visually. All of them except T are decorated with large rubricated or decorated capitals comparable to the capitals used to decorate Gregory the Great's *Libellus Responsionum*.[85]

Elsewhere, when Bede mentions the controversy, the translator usually mentions it, but if Bede includes details about the date of the equinox or calculations, he usually removes them. For example, Bede states:

> Non enim paschae diem dominicum suo tempore sed a quarta decima usque ad uicesimam lunam obseruabant, quae conputatio LXXXIIII annorum circulo continetur; sed et alia plurima unitati ecclesiasticae contraria faciebant.
>
> [The Britons] did not keep Easter Sunday at the proper time, but from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the lunar month; this reckoning is based on an 84-year cycle. They did a great many other things too, which were not in keeping with the unity of the Church.][86]

In the *OEHE*, this becomes 'heo . . . ne woldon riht Eastran healdan in heora tid; ge eac monig oðer þing þære ciriclican annisse heo ungelice ⁊ wiðerword hæfdon' ('they did not want to hold Easter in the right time; and they also held many other things different from and contrary to ecclesiastical unity').[87]

Most strikingly, the *OEHE* cuts the debates that Bede scripts for the Synod of Whitby entirely, but retains Bede's statements about Wilfrid's establishing Roman Easter in III.20 (this corresponds to III.28 of the Latin):

> Þa cwom eac swylce Willferð in Breotone, þa he wæs to biscope gehalgod ⁊ eac swylce monige gemetgunge þara rihtgelefedra, gehælde þære Romaniscan cirican, Ongolcynnes ciricum mid his lare brohte. Þonon wæs geworden, þæt seo rihtgelyfde laár wæs dæghwamlice weaxende; ond ealle Scottas, þa ðe betweohn Ongle eardodon ⁊ þære rihtgelefdan láre wiðerwearde wæron ge in gehælde rihtra Eastrena ge in monegum oðrum wisum oðþe heora treowe sealdon, þæt heo riht mid healdan woldon, oðþe ham to heora eðle hwurfen.
>
> [Then came also Wilfrid into Britain when he was consecrated bishop and with his teaching brought many orthodox rules held by the Roman church to the English churches. From that time it happened that the orthodox teaching was growing daily; and all the Irish, those who lived among the English and were opposed to the orthodox teaching either in the holding of the right Easter or in many other ways either gave their assurance that they wanted to hold with right, or went home to their country.][88]

84 *OEHE* IV.5, pp. 278–9.

85 In O, the decrees and *Libellus Responsionum* are marked by large rubricated capitals, fols. 83–4 and 61ff., respectively. In B, the capitals for the *Libellus Responsionum*, pp. 199ff., are missing until the sixth response, which has a large decorated capital. Subsequent capitals in this section are large but plain. The decrees of Theodore's synod are drawn in and decorated, pp. 251–3. Ca rubricates it, and uses small capitals to begin each response and question. Ca also uses small capitals to mark Theodore's decrees, fol. 59. These sections of C do not survive, but N has large capitals, fol. 119. T's *Libellus Responsionum* is rubricated and has decorated initials, fol. 58r ff., while the decrees of Theodore have small capitals and unusually heavy punctuation, fol. 77r ff.

86 *HE* II.2, pp. 134–7.

87 *OEHE* II.2, p. 98.

88 *OEHE* III.20, pp. 246–9.

If the Old English translator were suppressing the controversy, omitting any reference to English unorthodoxy, or editing in light of his tender feelings for the Irish, he would have removed this passage, but he keeps it. In fact, his regular inclusion of information about the Paschal controversy is marked by a choice made by the third translator, who restored a short section in Book III, a section which constitutes one of the textual cruces of the *OEHE*.

This is a particularly interesting moment, because the section of *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.17 (*OEHE* III.14) contains one of Bede's disclaimers about Bishop Aidan's Easter practices. While Bede praises Aidan for his Christian life and beliefs, he reminds his readers that he does not agree with Aidan's observance of Easter. Bede asserts that Aidan observed Easter in the true spirit, but on the wrong day – but not, as some think, on any night of the week. Part of the restored section reads:

> Ne heold he no þa Eastran, swa swa sume men wenað, mid Iudeum on feowertynenihtne mónan gehwylce dæge on wucan, ac a symle on Sunnandæge fram feowertyne-nihtum monan oð twentigesnihtne, for þam geleafan þære Dryhtenlican æriste, þa æriste he gelyfde on anum þara restedaga beon gewordene.
>
> [Nor did he hold Easter, as some men think, with the Jews on the fourteenth night of the moon whatever day of the week, but always on Sunday from the fourteenth night of the moon to the twentieth night, because of belief in the divine resurrection, which he believed to have happened on one of the restdays.][89]

Although the main translator eliminated this commentary, someone else restored it. Notably, the person who did so heeded the reshaping of the *OEHE* by following the changes indicated in the chapter headings, but did not seem to think the passage about Aidan's Easter practices should be cut. And why should it? Aidan is in the list of chapter headings, and the Easter controversy appears repeatedly throughout the text.

The symbolism of Easter remains deeply important to the representation of Christian truth and unity in the *OEHE*. This is clearly demonstrated by the repeated appeals to the unity of Easter practices and bitter rejection of the Britons in V.21, 22 and 23. The harsh language of these three chapters, reproduced faithfully in *OEHE*, stands out in the absence of earlier condemnations, and allows unified Easter practices to distinguish the worthy from the unworthy in the absence of the Pelagian heresy. The adaptation of Bede's account of the Easter controversy in the *OEHE* works in conjunction with the complete removal of the Pelagian heresy to focus readerly attention on the Britons' continued resistance to the Roman Easter (and tonsure) when even the Irish and Picts have conformed. In the *OEHE*, this resistance stands out as the principal moral failure of the Britons. The direct, detailed contrast of British and English practices offered in Book V repeats and reiterates the orthodox beliefs of the English and failures of the Britons in both texts. In the *OEHE*, however, the Britons did not lose their island because of their propensity for heresy, or an uncontrollable pestilence that undermined

89 *OEHE* III.14, pp. 206–8.

their physical and spiritual health and well-being, but because of military weakness, obstinance and pride.

Because the *OEHE* follows its source more closely in the sections related to the Britons in Book V, it could be seen as participating in Bede's logic of salvation history, though to a significantly lesser degree. Gone are the powerful Edenic images of the snake and a pestilence akin to original sin. The main translator manipulates Bede's language and layout subtly, but with cumulative effect, introducing 'St. Peter's shears', and emphasizing the pride, obstinance and separatism of the Britons. He follows neither Gildas nor Bede in reading their ultimate displacement as divine punishment. He never compares the recent (or perhaps ongoing) Scandinavian invasions with the Germanic ones, and refrains from interpreting the invasions as punishment. This choice may reflect the translator's unwillingness to add outside materials to Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, paralleling his decision to remove some materials from foreign sources – if such was his motivation. His excision of the Pelagian heresy may instead suggest that Bede's English translator was unwilling to transmit highly negative Continental accounts of the British Church's beliefs and activities at the time of the arrival of the Germanic tribes. It is possible that his position far to the south and west of Jarrow permitted him access to traditions concerning British Christianity of which Bede remained unaware. The positive rhetorical result, however, is that the *OEHE* presents a significantly different account of the fall of Britain from Bede.

Coda: 'Gelice þy troiscan wæle': An Alternate Reading of Invasion and Conquest in the OEHE

Two seemingly small lexical changes that Bede's Old English translator makes to his source contribute to my belief that he viewed relations between the British and English – and history itself – differently from Bede. In Books III and IV, where Bede describes the ravages of two kings named Cædwalla – the British king Cædwalla (Cadwallon of Gwynedd, d. 633) and Cædwalla of Wessex (*c.* 659–89),[90] the Old English translator renders 'tragica cæde' ('fearful bloodshed') and 'stragica cæde' ('merciless bloodshed'), with a form of 'troiscan wæle', or 'Trojan slaughter'.[91] Clearly, two isolated renderings cannot establish an alternate genealogical view of history in the *OEHE*; nor do they conform to the legitimizing secular agenda of post-Conquest histories that engage the myth of Trojan origins. However, the fact that the translator refers to what seem to be two very different moments of invasion and conquest, one British king devastating Northumbria and one English king (and a king of Wessex at that) destroying and replacing the population of the Isle of Wight,

[90] Although Colgrave and Mynors use 'Cædwalla' for both kings, I will refer to the British king as Cadwallon here for the sake of clarity.

[91] *HE* III.1, pp. 212–13; *OEHE* III.1, pp. 152–4; *HE* IV.16, pp. 382–3; *OEHE* IV.18, p. 306; T87r/2–4.

as scenes of 'Trojan slaughter', suggests that he is commenting on invasion and conquest in ways that are neither determined by the salvation history articulated in his source, nor racialized along the same lines.

In the first passage where the change appears, Bede tells us that: 'rex Brettonum Caedualla . . . prouincias Nordanhymbrorum non ut rex uictor possideret, sed quasi tyrannus saeuiens disperderet ac tragica caede dilaceraret' ('Cadwallon, king of the Britons . . . occupied the Northumbrian kingdoms, not ruling them like a victorious king but ravaging them like a savage tyrant, tearing them pieces with fearful bloodshed'). The *OEHE* translates this with 'Cadwalla Bretta cyning . . . Norþanhymbra mægðe ahte, nales swa swa sigefæst cyning ac swa swa leodhata þæt he grimsigende forleas ond heo ongelicnesse þæs traiscan wæles wundade' ('Cædwalla, king of the Britons . . . took control of the province of the Northumbrians, not at all as a victorious king, but as a tyrant, so that he cruelly destroyed and wounded it [i.e. the province], in the likeness of the Trojan slaughter').[92] The next occurs at IV.16 (18 in the *OEHE*), in relation to Cædwalla of Wessex:

> Postquam ergo Caedualla regno potitus est Geuissorum, cepit et insulam Uectam, quae eatenus erat tota idolatriae dedita, ac stragica caede omnes indigenas exterminare ac suae prouinciae homines pro his substituere contendit.
>
> [After Cædwalla had gained possession of the kingdom of the Gewisse he also captured the Isle of Wight, which until then had been entirely given up to idolatry, and endeavoured to wipe out all the natives by merciless slaughter, and to replace them by inhabitants from his own kingdom.]

For this, the *OEHE* reads:

> Æfter þon þa þe Ceadwala wæs gemægenad ⁊ gestrongod on Westseaxna rice þa eode he eac ⁊ onfeng Wiht þæt ealond þæt eal wæs oð þa tid deofolgildum geseald. Ond he gelice þy troiscan wæle ealle þa londbigengan wolde ut amærian ⁊ his agenra leoda monnum gesettan.[93]
>
> [After this, when Cædwalla was confirmed and strengthened in the kingdom of the West Saxons, then he also went and took Wight the island, which was entirely given to devil-worship until that time. And he, as in the Trojan slaughter, wanted to exterminate all the inhabitants of that land, and place men of his own people (there).]

The word 'traiscan' seems to be somewhat difficult and is spelled differently each time it occurs in T. Waite treats the 'traiscan' spelling as a *hapax legomenon*,[94] while Bosworth and Toller define the word as questionable, but connect it to the 'troiscan' spelling:

> traisc, tráisc (?); adj. In the following passage this word is used to translate *tragicus*, which, however, seems to have been taken as an adjective formed from a proper name. In another passage the same word is rendered by tróiesc, tróisc (q. v.) Trojan, perhaps the same meaning is intended here.[95]

92 *HE* III.1, pp. 212–13; *OEHE* III.1, p. 154; T25r/5–7.
93 *HE* IV.16, pp. 382–3; *OEHE* IV.18, pp. 306–7.
94 Waite, 'Vocabulary', glossary.
95 Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 1012 and 'Tróiesc, tróisc; adj. Trojan' p. 1015.

Evidence in the B manuscript suggests that this is the case and that the meaning 'Trojan' is intended; that is clearly how it was received. In the first instance all of the *OEHE* manuscripts read 'traiscan' (Ca adds an accent over the 'a'), but in B, the usage is glossed by the main scribe with 'troianiscan', so that the text reads:

troianiscan

þæs traiscan | wales[96]

Given that forms of Troy and Trojan as 'Troia' and 'Troiana' appear twenty-three times in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, in the Old English *Orosius* and *Elene* for example, it seems that the scribe of B read the word as 'Trojan' in this case.

In the second instance, the spelling of the term varies: in T, the text reads 'troiscan', which indicates 'Trojan' more clearly, as Bosworth and Toller indicate. However, the other manuscripts vary more in this instance: B reads 'treiscan'. The different readings in this manuscript may be accounted for by scribal stints – each entry is by one of the two scribes. C is damaged, but seems to read 'treo<>escan'.[97] An early-modern marginal note, possibly made by John Leland, reads: 'Troica vel tragica'. Lawrence Nowell's transcript of this manuscript reads 'treoiescan'. Ca reads 'troiescan', which resolves O's widely spaced reading of 'þystreo ies |canwæle'.[98] The variation here suggests that the term may have been confusing to some of the scribes (and worthy of explanation to at least one early-modern annotator), but the glossing in B in the first instance, and the reading in T combined with the resolution in Ca in the second, suggest readerly reception of the term as 'Trojan'.[99]

These references to the 'troiscan wæle' are strikingly unusual in the *OEHE*, both in the liberty they take with translation and as references to Troy. (The unusual nature of the references alone may have led to the appearance of scribal confusion.) It is important to note that these references set the *OEHE* apart from contemporary (and earlier) Frankish and Continental traditions, because they are not genealogical. Vergil's *Aeneid* was very well known in medieval Europe. As H. H. Howorth points out, Prosper of Aquitaine, Gregory of Tours and Fredegar helped develop and foster Frankish myths of Trojan origin.[100] We know that Bede quoted Vergil, and that 'Nennius' compiled

96 B125/15–16.

97 I would like to thank Julian Harrison, Curator of Medieval Manuscripts at the British Library, for confirming this reading for me, as well as for the identification of John Leland as annotator.

98 B282/17, C11, N131v/14, O96r/2–3, and Ca65r/20. See also *OEHE* II.2, p. 357.

99 Christopher A. Jones suggested to me that it may be the case, depending on the Latin exemplar used by the translator, that 'tragica' was spelled so as to look like 'trajica', so that the reading was introduced by a simple error, depending on the letter form of the 'g'. Sadly, the exemplar of the *OEHE* is lost. Cotton Tiberius C.ii, which is the Latin *HE* manuscript closest in time and text (though it is not the exemplar), uses ᵹ for 'g'. The early manuscripts of the *HE* attributed to Jarrow also use the ᵹ form. If the manuscript were like these, 'Troiscan' did not initiate such an error, but the possibility cannot be ruled out because the exemplar is lost.

100 H. H. Howorth, 'The Ethnology of Germany – Part VI. The Varini, Varangians, and Franks. – Section I', *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 12 (1883), 525–53. See also Goffart, *Narrators*, pp. 125, 417,426; Hanning, *Vision of History*, chapter 5; Howe, *Migration and*

the *Historia Brittonum* with its Trojan genealogy in the early-ninth century. But there is no early English tradition of Trojan origins, nor is there a Welsh tradition of Trojan origins until after the Norman Conquest.[101] In fact, the discourse of secular legitimation in which the mythical Trojan origins becomes so important finds its feet with Geoffrey of Monmouth, then gains force over the next few centuries. It is usually read as being in direct opposition to the Germanic origins traced by Bede.

The use of the term 'troiscan' in the *OEHE* resonates with the question of the origins of the Jutes, which, as Jane Acomb Leake points out, the *OEHE* translates with 'Geats'.[102] Bede's famous passage about the Continental origins of the Germanic tribes gives the origins of the people of the Isle of Wight as Jutish:

> Aduenerant autem de tribus Germaniae populis fortioribus, id est Saxonibus, Anglis, Iutis. De Iutarum origine sunt Cantuari et Uictuarii, hoc est ea gens quae Uectam tenet insulam, et ea quae usque hodie in prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum Iutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Uectam.
>
> [They came from three very powerful Germanic tribes, the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. The people of Kent and the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight are of Jutish origin and also those opposite the Isle of Wight, that part of the kingdom of Wessex which is still today called the nation of the Jutes.][103]

The *OEHE* reads: 'Comon hi of þrim folcum ðam strangestan Germanie, þæt of Seaxum ⁊ of Angle ⁊ of Geatum. Of Geata fruman syndon Cantware, ⁊ Wihtsætan; þæt is seo ðeod þe Wiht þæt ealond oneardað' ('They came from three peoples, the strongest in Germany, that of the Saxon, and of the Angle, and of the Geat. From the Geats are descended the Kentmen and the Wihtsæton; that is the tribe which dwells in the island of Wight').[104] Harris reads the translation of Geats for Jutes as a 'reconfiguration of Anglo-Saxon ethnic identity', since

> 'Geatum' does not appear to be the Old English reflex of Bede's *Iutis*. In fact, the name *Geatas* represents the anglicized form of the Latin *Getæ*. *Getæ* is the same as Goth; Cassiodorus, historian to the Goths, presented his history as that of the *Getæ*, the nomenclature Jordanes maintained in his own later Gothic history.[105]

Harris traces the ethnographic and mythological origins of the Jutes/Geats/Goths to Rome (via a mythological Germanic tribe connected to the Dacians

Mythmaking, pp. 62–3; Francis Ingledew, 'The Book of Troy and the Genealogical Construction of History: The Case of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*', *Speculum* 69.3 (1994), 665–704; Nicholas Birns, 'The Trojan Myth: Postmodern Reverberations', *Exemplaria* 5.1 (1993), 45–78.

101 Pryce, 'British or Welsh?', p. 789; see also David N. Dumville, '*Historia Brittonum*: An Insular History from the Carolingian Age', in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts fur Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 32 (Munich and Vienna, 1994), pp. 406–34, at pp. 408–10.

102 J. A. Leake, *The Geats of 'Beowulf': A Study in the Geographical Mythology of the Middle Ages* (Madison, 1967), pp. 99–107. See also Harris, *Race and Ethnicity*.

103 Harris, *Race and Ethnicity*, p. 84; *HE* I.15, pp. 50–1.

104 *OEHE* I.12, pp. 52–3.

105 Harris, *Race and Ethnicity*, p. 84.

and Scythians). This, in turn, connects 'Germanic ethnicity and Roman imperium', so that, Harris argues, 'With the term *Geat*, the ninth-century translator of Bede is asserting the common racial heritage of the Danes and the Anglo-Saxons in their mutual Gothic origins'.[106]

This suggestion is tantalizing. Unfortunately, Bede's English translator makes no other reference to the Geats, Danes or mutual origins to shore up the idea that he is fostering a particularly Romanized understanding of that tribe. Jutland is southern Denmark, so that both the term *Iutae* and the term *Geatas* make reference to the Danes, classical myths of origin notwithstanding.[107] Read in the context of the 'troiscan wæle', such a reference becomes somewhat confusing. The Anglian 'Trojans' slaughtered by Cadwallon would line up appropriately enough, but the Jutes/Geats/Romanized peoples inhabiting the Isle of Wight were slaughtered by Cædwalla of Wessex – who would then be 'ethnically' aligned with the Greeks, a problem to which I will return shortly. In the end, the evidence is insufficient to establish any certainty. Asking readers to connect the Trojans to Roman Christianity, and to understand that Cædwalla could be aligned with the Greeks because he had yet to convert, seems far too complicated a schema to base on these isolated, one-word clues, as suggestive as they may be.

Given the fact that Bede's translator uses the simile to refer to destruction wrought by both a British king *and* an English king, another possibility is that the introduction of the 'Trojan slaughter' in these instances focuses attention not on origins or ethnicity, but on devastation in war. That is, such references seek to emphasize the totality of the destruction rather than create an alignment of peoples with Greeks, Trojans or Romans. The homophony of the kings' names (Cædwalla), and parallels of the situations seem to invite comparison, not only between two scenes of destruction in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, but also, clearly, between these scenes and the famous destruction of Troy. Despite Bede's clear emphasis on the barbarity, sloth and depravity of the Britons, the *OEHE* uses this comparison to equate a British king with an English one. Representing tyranny and slaughter on the part of kings both heathen and Christian, British and English, as 'like the Trojan slaughter' suggests a reading of history that does not fall neatly along a trajectory whereby a Chosen people justly displaces the unworthy natives.

I have placed this section as a pendant to this chapter, because the translator's choices in these two instances continue to undermine Bede's pattern of salvation history. In Bede's account, Cædwalla of Wessex's conquest of the Isle of Wight can be read as a condensed example reiterating the pattern of the Germanic tribes in general in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Chosen and acting as God's agent in conversion, though not yet a Christian himself, Cædwalla vows to give a portion of his spoils to the Christian God and to found a monastery on the Isle of Wight (for Wilfrid) should he be victorious. He succeeds, and

[106] With the caution 'It is important to note here that these stories of origins, including that of the Geats, are not records of tribal memory or historical fact, but a hybrid of both', ibid., p. 86.

[107] See Yorke, *Conversion*, pp. 56–7, where she also notes that Procopius substitutes the Frisians for the Jutes, a naming which corresponds with Bede's second listing of Germanic origins in V.9.

fulfills these vows like Edwin and Oswio. Bede reports immediately that the princes that Cædwalla forces into exile in a neighboring province are converted even as they await execution – so that Cædwalla's transgressions and depredations nevertheless foster conversion in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and fall neatly into place in the narrative logic of that text. Instead of taking this opportunity to shore up the symbolism of salvation history in direct relation to a king of Wessex, *OEHE* introduces the simile of the 'Trojan slaughter', thereby linking the devastation of the Isle of Wight to two others, neither of which is the scene of conversion or salvation. By doing so, the *OEHE* disrupts not only the connection between destruction, displacement and salvation, but also a possible link between Wessex and Rome.

If Alfred had a hand in, supervised or inspired the translation of the *OEHE*, it seems highly unlikely to me that he would accept such a disruptive combination of words.

Despite the ambiguities surrounding the spelling 'traiscan', the use of 'troiscan' in T, the gloss in B, and the parallel settings of 'tragica/stragica caede' with kings named Cædwalla and devastating slaughter combine to suggest that scribes as readers, and Bede's English translator himself interpreted these moments as being 'like the Trojan disaster'. By doing so, they reflect not merely a glimpse of classical learning, but a pointed simile that interrupts the narrative of salvation history. Although these references do not seem to tap into any alternate myth of origins, they call attention to the continued, devastating warfare between the tribes living in Britain. And rather than clarifying any confusion between the virtue of Cædwalla, the English king of Wessex and the tyranny of Cadwallon, the British king who killed Oswald, it collapses that difference.

5

Who Read Æthelbert's Letter? Translation, Mediation and Authority in the *OEHE*

In addition to his powerful articulation of salvation history, discussed in Chapter 4, Bede's authoritative narrative and his explicitly Roman agenda have received much scholarly attention.[1] As scholars such as Janet Nelson, Nicholas Howe and Walter Goffart have established, Rome is the cultural center of Bede's world.[2] In Bede's account, it is Augustine of Canterbury's mission from Rome in 597 that introduces Christianity and literacy to Æthelbert's court in Kent. He includes a series of fifteen letters from Pope Gregory and his successors encouraging and admonishing kings, queens and bishops. Eight of these appear in Book I; they form one of the strongest textual foundations on which Bede asserts the authority of Rome in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Curiously, the *OEHE* omits or summarizes all but one of these letters. These omissions have typically been read as signs of the inferiority of the translation.

This chapter challenges that idea. Building on my discussion of the editing of Bede's account of the Pelagian heresy and Easter controversy, this chapter re-examines and considers the omission of the letters in relation to scenes of translation and conversion, and in light of the larger purposes pursued by Bede and by his anonymous translators in their differing historical contexts. The next chapter looks at the omission of the letters from Book II, as well as the repositioning of Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum*, the one papal letter Bede's main Old English translator includes in its entirety, at the end of Book III. Analyzing the impact of these omissions engages a dynamic of presence and absence that provides insight into the Old English version at the same time it sheds light on the ways in which Bede's use of sources creates meaning and authority in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*. As in the previous chapter, I work not

1 Walter Goffart, 'Bede's *Vera lex historiae* Explained', *Anglo-Saxon England* 34 (2005), 111–16; R. Ray, 'Bede's *Vera lex historiae*', *Speculum* 55 (1980), 11–41; W. Levison, 'Bede as Historian', in W. Levison, *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit* (Düsseldorf, 1948), pp. 373–4; C. W. Jones, *Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England* (Ithaca, NY, 1947), pp. 83–5, at p. 88; P. Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede* (Cambridge, 1970, rpt. 1990), pp. 78, 303; J. Campbell, 'Bede I', in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), p. 25; Wallace-Hadrill, *Historical Commentary*, p. 5.

2 Howe, 'Rome'; Veronica Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 132–4; Bertram Colgrave, 'Pilgrimages to Rome in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', *Studies in Language, Literature, and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later*, ed. E. Bagby Atwood and Archibald Hill (Austin, 1969), pp. 156–72. Susan Irvine, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Idea of Rome in Alfredian Literature', in *Alfred the Great*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 63–77; Nelson, 'Political Ideas'.

from negative evidence, but by developing an argument based on how the papal letters generate meaning in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* itself, followed by a reading of how the *OEHE* deploys meaning and authority differently by removing the letters. Interrogating the omission of the papal letters raises serious questions, not only about translation and authority, but also about the scenes, agents and media of conversion.

Beginning a discussion of conversion from the scene of translation at Æthelbert's court calls attention to the mediated and constructed nature of historical narrative, and brings to the foreground issues of translation and cultural interaction, especially the relationship between the Roman and British Churches, and Latin and English in early England.[3] Considering the effects of removing Gregory's authoritative first-person voice – and eliding the written authority of Rome – alongside other moments of mission and translation (including Oswald's famous act of translating aloud for Aidan) opens a new perspective from which to think about the secondary, the mediated, the translated – the space which the vernacular version itself has occupied at least since the nineteenth century. Rather than dismissing the omission of the papal letters in the *OEHE* as a sign of the text's inferiority, I would argue that it is part of a process whereby the main Old English translator makes room in the text not only for the reversals of English fortunes in the centuries after Bede, but also for some of the other languages and traditions that played a role in the development of early England.

Bede's Account of Augustine's Mission Reconsidered

Although the chronological and factual problems of Bede's account of Augustine of Canterbury's mission have been the subject of scholarly discussion since at least the 1940s,[4] they tend to be subsumed under the umbrella of Bede's Roman agenda or explained by lack of sources. As Nicholas Brooks puts it, 'had Bede's information derived from Christ Church, we might be better informed about the Frankish role in the conversion of the English'.[5]

3 I have drawn the phrase, 'the scene of translation', from Bannet, 'The Scene of Translation'.

4 For the problems of Bede's account of the mission, see *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. Richard Gameson (Stroud, 1999), especially Ian Wood, 'Augustine and Gaul', in *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. Richard Gameson (Stroud, 1999), pp. 68–82; Stancliffe, 'The British Church', pp. 107–51. See also Wood, 'Mission'; Ian Wood, 'Some Historical Re-identifications and the Christianization of Kent', in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. Wood, International Medieval Research 7 (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 27–35; Yorke, *Conversion*; N. J. Higham, *The Convert Kings: Power and Religious Affiliation in Early Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 1997); *Letters of Gregory the Great*, ed. Martyn, I, pp. 59–72; Paul Meyvaert, 'Bede and Gregory the Great' (1964), in *Bede and his World*, ed. Lapidge, vol. I; Stephanie Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church* (Woodbridge, 1992) p. 222; S. Brechter, *Die Quellen zur Angelsachsenmission Gregors des Grossen* (Munich, 1941); R. A. Markus, 'The Chronology of the Gregorian Mission to England: Bede's Narrative and Gregory's Correspondence', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 14 (1963), 16–30; H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1972; 3rd ed. 1991), p. 268; Nicholas Brooks, 'The Cathedral Community at Canterbury', in his *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church 400–1066* (London, 2000) pp. 101–54.

5 Brooks, 'Cathedral Community', p. 108.

Although scholars have begun to rethink Bede's account of Augustine's mission, Ian Wood reiterates that the implications of these problems have been insufficiently examined, and that Bede's 'overall interpretation of the mission still gives cause for concern'.[6] Bede himself tells us that his information about 'the disciples of Gregory' came from Albinus, who was abbot of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (708–32). Albinus's colleague, Nothhelm, who would become archbishop of Canterbury (735–9), acted as intermediary. Nothhelm traveled to Rome for Bede to search the archive and copy letters.[7] Paul Meyvaert suggests that Nothhelm delivered the letters late in Bede's writing process, and that 'the arrival of the letters may have caused Bede to revise his opinions, to make new deductions and thus may have led him to modify and rewrite some of the narrative portions' of his text.[8]

The broad outline of Bede's account is that Gregory, inspired by the sight of angelic young men at the slave market, conceives of the idea of a mission to England. He himself is not granted permission to undertake the mission at that time, but upon becoming pope, he sends Augustine with a team of missionaries. After hesitating along the way for fear of 'going to a barbarous, fierce and unbelieving nation whose language they did not even understand', the missionaries go on, picking up translators in Gaul. They arrive in Kent, impress King Æthelbert with their pious devotional practices and – although it is unclear precisely when – convert him.[9] After this initial success, Bede tells us that Augustine went to Arles to be consecrated, and notified Gregory that he needed more 'workers'.[10] Gregory sends Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus and Rufinus, along with a pallium for Augustine and letters dated 601 to King Æthelbert and Queen Bertha.

Bede does not include Gregory's letter to Bertha, but he includes the text of eight letters in this section. As Meyvaert points out, these 'occupy a . . . preponderant position . . . in Plummer's edition' of I.23–33.[11] In fact, at almost every step, Bede presents an account of Augustine's mission that is not *his* account at all; rather, it is a framed presentation of primary historical sources, an act that remains astonishing in its authority and rarity in the early Middle Ages. The almost modern way in which Bede makes use of sources here may also explain, at least in part, why so few scholars have questioned his account until relatively recently.

Unfortunately, Æthelbert had no Asser to report his receiving a miraculous gift of Latin literacy, so we are left to speculate on the precise means by which the contents of the letter were communicated to the king, though the most likely possibility is that Augustine read the letter to Æthelbert aloud.[12] Scholars

[6] Wood, 'Mission', p. 1.

[7] *HE*, 'Preface', pp. 4–5.

[8] Meyvaert, 'Bede and Gregory the Great', p. 10.

[9] *HE* I.23, p. 69. The slave boys anecdote is in II.1.

[10] *HE* I.27 and 29.

[11] Meyvaert, 'Bede and Gregory the Great', p. 8.

[12] On classical and medieval letter practices, see Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections*, Typologie des sources du Moyen-Âge occidental 17 (Turnhout, 1976), pp. 13–16, 24, and especially pp. 53–4; Martin Camargo, *Ars Dictaminis, Ars Dictandi*, Typologie des sources du Moyen-Âge

have long assumed that he read in Latin for Æthelbert's Frankish translators to render simultaneously into their supposedly 'mutually intelligible' Saxon dialect. This same process of translation still occurs as a matter of course in diplomatic settings, but pausing to consider the elision of translation here leads to a variety of questions, especially if one considers how very many instances of cultural contact occur in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. How exactly did this process work in early Britain? Was the letter read in public? Did Bertha read it to him, or possibly verify the translation?[13] As I noted a moment ago, Bede tells us that Augustine picked up Frankish translators while *en route*, but he never shows them at work. Colgrave and Mynors speculate that their dialect was similar to the dialect of Kent, but Martyn and Dudden have challenged this idea.[14] It may be that these translators were effective because Æthelbert himself was bi- or multi-lingual. Relations between Kent and Francia were active at this time, with the levels of activity marked not only by the material culture of Kent, which shows strong Frankish influence, but also by Æthelbert's marriage to Bertha, daughter of King Charibert I (561–7).[15] This marriage took place long before Æthelbert became king and about seventeen years prior to Augustine's mission.[16] Wood and Hollis both read the longevity of the marriage, but apparent failure of the king to convert, as evidence of Bertha's lack of influence on her husband (especially while Eormenric remained king). The question of what language they spoke together never arises. While the burden of language learning would most likely have fallen on the foreign bride, it may also be the case that the Frankish translators Augustine brought with him were effective in Kent because of Bertha's long-term presence at court, because of Æthelbert and his father's extensive dealings with the Franks, or because of some combination of these factors.

As Ian Wood has demonstrated, the additional letters by Gregory the Great associated with the mission of Augustine to Canterbury 'reveal a depth of Merovingian involvement in the mission of Augustine which is almost entirely ignored by Bede'.[17] In fact, recent scholarship by Martyn, Wood and others has challenged almost every aspect of Bede's account: Augustine's mission in its Continental, British and theological contexts was the subject of a

occidental 60 (Turnhout, 1991), pp. 18–20. On Alfred and Asser, see Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 99.

13 I am grateful to Paul Russell for the suggestion that Bertha may have verified the work of the official translators.

14 *HE*, p. 73, n. 4. Martyn questions the idea that the Franks spoke a mutually intelligible dialect: 'Bede argued that the priests "had acquired interpreters from the race of Franks" . . . and most modern scholars have agreed. Yet one of the priests, Agilbert, was expelled later on by the English king for his "barbarous speech" and he even needed an interpreter to present his own case. The numbers of converted suggest a large percentage of monks able to speak the local language. And as Dudden pointed out, it seems certain that most Franks could not speak intelligible English, despite some trade between the two countries. Some priests may well have come over from Gaul, as interpreters of the Bible, and Bede may have been aware of some English speaking interpreters; this may have caused this confusion, for he seems to have had no access to the letter explaining their source' (*Letters of Gregory the Great*, I, pp. 71–2).

15 Hines, 'Becoming', p. 53; Nielsen, 'Schism', pp. 80–1; Hills, *Origins*.

16 Yorke, *Conversion*, p. 122.

17 Wood, 'Mission', pp. 6–7.

conference and substantial book in the late 1990s. Wood and Stephanie Hollis have explored Bertha's role (or lack thereof) in Æthelbert's conversion to the extent that the limited evidence permits. Margaret Deanesly has suggested that charter evidence may indicate that Æthelbert was modeling his court on the literate Frankish court prior to the arrival of Augustine's mission.[18] The account that emerges from these studies is that the people of Kent, as part of a larger, international community, were well aware of Christianity and literacy; they actively sought conversion from the pope in Rome rather than from the Franks.

Reading the letters Gregory sent to bishops, kings and queens in Gaul reveals that Gregory may never have seen English slaves in the market. He did tell Candidus, rector of Gaul, to buy some English slaves in 595, so that they might 'profit by serving God in monasteries', after which the gold coins Candidus spends on them may 'be spent more profitably in their [i.e. the slaves'] own land'.[19] Some scholars read this to mean that these former slaves become the missionaries sent with Augustine back to England.[20] In a letter dated July 596 to 'Theoderic and Theodebert, kings of the Franks, equally', Gregory reveals that 'it has come to our attention that the people of England earnestly desire to be converted to the Christian faith, with God's compassion, but that the priests from nearby neglect them'.[21] While Bede clearly assumed that the neglectful neighbors were the Britons, Wood argues that they were the Franks, and that a complex dynamic of power and trade may have governed the English desire to be converted by Rome rather than the Franks.[22] Augustine traveled through Gaul with letters of introduction requesting help and support for his mission from a variety of bishops, kings and queens. He returned to Rome despite their support, asking permission to leave off the mission, but was sent on by Gregory. He was then consecrated in Lyon along the way.[23] When he arrived in Kent, he was welcomed by a court already boasting a small Christian community comprised of the queen, her bishop and an unknown number of members of her household.

Although Brechter, Martyn and others have charged Bede with the active suppression and distortion of evidence,[24] Bede's dependence on Nothhelm's access to letters in the archives suggests that such charges may be unfounded. How would Nothhelm have known to search for letters written not only to Augustine or English kings, but to kings, queens and officials from Gaul to Alexandria as well? My purpose in looking more closely at this moment in history is not to denigrate Bede's integrity or ability as a historian, but to call attention to the powerful authority that is generated by Bede's inclusion of

18 Wood, 'Mission'; Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women*; Gameson, *St Augustine*; M. Deanesly, 'The Court of King Aethelberht of Kent', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 7.2 (1942), 101–14. See also Meens, 'Background'.

19 *Letters of Gregory the Great*, ed. Martyn, Ep. 6.10, II, p. 409.

20 Ibid., I, pp. 66–8, 71–2.

21 Ibid., Ep. 6.51, II, p. 438.

22 Wood, 'Mission', pp. 6–9.

23 *Letters of Gregory the Great*, ed. Martyn, I, p. 59.

24 Ibid., I, pp. 65, n. 177, 68; Meens, 'Background', p. 6; Bassett, 'Church and Diocese', p. 39.

the papal letters, the radically different historical account that emerges from reading just a few more of these letters, and the constant, but constantly erased, presence of linguistic diversity and translation.

It is in the spaces between history and Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* that one can see the convergences and interactions of the multiple cultures and languages existing in early England. It is in that space, I believe, that we can see acts of translation as crucial everyday events, and catch a glimpse of the extent to which the 'others' of Bede's narrative – especially the British and the Irish in this context – contribute to the political, social and ecclesiastical structures that come to be known as England. Furthermore, examining the impact that the problem of sources and omissions has on the shape of Bede's own narrative also provides a model for a better understanding of the profound impact of the substantial omissions in the Old English translation. After all, the main translator of the *OEHE* was not passively transmitting the *Historia Ecclesiastica*; rather, he uses abridgement as a form of transformation. Just as Bede's Northumbrian perspective influences his access to sources and perspective on history, the main Old English translator's position in time and his possible Mercian background change his perspective. We can see the signs of this difference in the way he reshapes his text for a different audience. The excision of the papal letters from the *OEHE* works together with the removal of the Pelagian heresy discussed in Chapter 4 to present a different picture of Christianity in Britain from that found in Book I of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and suggests the possibility that the main translator may have had access to historical traditions different from those with which Bede was familiar.

Redeploying the Voice of Ecclesiastical Authority: Omitting the Papal Letters

The developments in our knowledge about early English history discussed in Chapter 2 contribute to our understanding of the richness, depth and complexity of culture and Christian learning that survived in post-Roman Britain, then parts of 'free Mercia' in the eighth and ninth centuries. They provide more fruitful contexts for reading the *OEHE* than generalizations about the complete collapse of learning south of the Humber. Traditionally, the omissions to the *OEHE* have generally been read as signs of just such a collapse, and, from the perspective of translation theory, of the text's betrayal of its source. Paradoxically, some of the 'unidiomatic' ways in which Bede's main translator adapts the Old English to convey the meaning of Bede's Latin reflect his clear and accurate understanding of that Latin. This accuracy, combined with the precision and care with which he edits suggest that he omits passages deliberately, not through ignorance. As I have noted, Dorothy Whitelock sees most of the omissions as the removal of irrelevant

materials.[25] But this explanation is unsatisfactory – at least for explaining his two-fold approach to the papal letters – and she changes her mind within the same essay. To clarify: at first, Whitelock treats the omission of the papal letters as part of a general principle to omit 'letters, documents, epitaphs and poems'.[26] Later, however, she suggests that the translator changes his mind 'with regard to the inclusion of Gregory's *Responsa*', showing that they 'could not be dismissed as a dead letter, and this may account for the translator's second thoughts on their inclusion'.[27] She sees the inclusion of this one letter as a second thought because the Old English translator moves the letter containing Gregory's *Responsa*, better known as the *Libellus Responsionum*, out of Book I, and places it after the end of Book III.[28] I have discussed this move elsewhere, and will return to it in the next chapter.

I believe that there is more at stake in eliminating the first-person voice of the pope from Book I than dead letters and second thoughts, especially given Bede's own outspoken commitment to the authority of Rome; rather, these omissions and summaries reflect the contexts of the Old English translator by decentering the authority of Rome and altering the view of ecclesiastical authority in Britain in Book I. As I argue in the previous chapter, the removal of Bede's account of the Pelagian heresy revises Bede's famous symbolism of salvation history by removing the language of pestilence and contagion, thereby presenting a less derogatory reading of the Britons during the period in which the Germanic tribes arrived in Britain. This change is a first step toward re-presenting the relations between the Churches in conversion-period Britain. The next step is to redeploy the language of ecclesiastical authority.

In the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bede represents the relationship between the newly converted and still converting *Ongolþeode* and the British and Irish Church(es) as extremely tense, if not downright antagonistic, in terms of authority and practices. The papal letters play a key role in this dynamic. Augustine, in addition to his miracles, always has the written authority and encouragement of the pope, whom Bede considers to be the voice of God on earth. Bede is well aware of the rhetorical power of the first-person singular; he rarely uses it for his own voice, but deploys it to masterful effect on several occasions. Two of the most striking examples are the story told by King Edwin's counselor of the sparrow in winter and Wilfrid's argument at the Synod of Whitby for the Roman observance of Easter. By including the first-person discourse of Gregory's letters directly, complete with greetings – for example 'To the most reverend and holy brother Augustine, our fellow-bishop,

[25] Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', p. 232.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., p. 240.
[28] By moving the letter, the translator dissociates it from the direct context of Augustine's mission. It should be noted that moving the *Libellus Responsionum* participates in a dynamic whereby the Old English version focuses pastoral authority on Canterbury under the auspices of Theodore. See S. M. Rowley, 'Shifting Contexts: Reading Gregory's Letter in Book III of the Tanner Bede', in *Rome and the North: The Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe*, ed. Rolf Bremmer, Kees Dekker and David F. Johnson, Mediaevalia Groningana n.s. 4 (Louvain, 2001), pp. 83–92.

Gregory, servant of the servants of God'[29] – Bede takes advantage of the opportunity to insist upon Augustine's authority and piety at the same time as he allows the words of Gregory himself to exhort, admonish and convert. Whereas Gregory addresses Augustine again as 'most beloved brother',[30] he establishes a paternal relationship between himself and Mellitus, whom he greets as 'my most beloved son'.[31] In turn, Gregory greets Æthelbert in a way that not only recognizes the king's earthly authority, but also establishes Gregory's paternal, spiritual authority over him. When writing to the king, Gregory writes to 'his most worthy son, the glorious lord Æthelbert, king of the English'.[32]

All of these moments of rhetorical positioning, social distinction and reiteration of authority arrive and are presented in Bede's history in the form of written documents, presumably bearing seals and entailing some ritual of presentation, reading and translation. In what ways might Augustine have performed his reading of the letter to enhance that power? In what ways did the power of Latin as a language differ when it arrived in written form with Augustine's personage, from when it arrived with Bertha and Liudhard? In what ways does this scene contrast with the 'pulcherrimo . . . spectaculo', the 'most beautiful sight' Bede describes, when King Oswald 'acted as interpreter of the heavenly word for his ealdormen and thegns' as Aidan preached?[33] Although the Oswald–Aidan scenes do not occur in Book I, the contrast between these scenes of conversion and the role of language and translation makes considering them appropriate here. In fact, Oswald's acting as translator is one of only two scenes of active translation that Bede presents in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (the other being when interpreters translate Nechtan's letter from Ceolfrith). That Bede presents scenes in which people translate Irish to English and Latin to Pictish at crucial moments of conversion, but never presents the active translation of Latin to English, emphasizes the otherness of Pictish and Irish. That missionaries such as Augustine, Wilfrid and Willibrord (to name just a few) travel extensively in Britain and on the Continent without the question of translation ever arising reflects Bede's active agenda of representing Latin as a unifying language.

While the appeal of Oswald's scene of translation remains undeniable, the power dynamic it dramatizes is strikingly different from the power exercised at Æthelbert's court. This is a difference generated at least in part by Bede's presentation. In the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Augustine arrives unbidden and Æthelbert permits him to establish himself nearby, whereas Oswald invites Aidan. Bede introduces Aidan in a mode different from that in which he introduces Augustine. By including the text of Gregory's letters, Bede essentially provides his readers with letters of commendation for Augustine and at the same time he reports exactly what Gregory said to King Æthelbert. In

29 *HE* I.29, p. 105.
30 *HE* I.31, p. 109.
31 *HE* I.30, p. 107.
32 *HE* I.32, p. 111.
33 *HE* III.3, pp. 220–1.

contrast, we know only that Aidan was chosen for his mission and succeeded in it because he knew enough to approach new converts softly, proverbially, with milk before meat.[34] Bede tells us that Aidan was a man renowned for his 'outstanding gentleness, devotion and moderation'.[35] The documented written authority of Augustine stands in sharp contrast to the anecdotal oral authority of gentle Aidan and humble Oswald.

How differently these scenes play out in the *OEHE*, where, without the authority of Gregory's letters, Augustine seems rather like Aidan's proud and unsuccessful predecessor; this is at least in part because he is not being repeatedly hailed in the Old English version as 'holy and reverend', 'beloved brother'. Starting with the Preface, which survives in only the two youngest manuscripts, the Old English version treats this series of events differently. Nothhelm, for example, remains as intermediary between Bede and Albinus, but there is no mention of his trip to Rome or the papal archive.[36] Chapter 13 of the Old English version presents the action of chapter 23 in Bede's Latin (see the tables in Appendix I), but Bede's 672 total lines of Latin, including the letters, are reduced to 143 lines in Miller's edition (this is an imprecise comparison, but one that at least gives a sense of proportion).[37] There is much going on behind these numbers. Firstly, as I have been suggesting, removing the language with which Gregory greets Augustine as an equal and reiterates his piety and reverence has a profound effect on the presentation of Augustine as a character. Secondly, by removing the letters, the Old English translator dramatically reduces the emphasis on the dichotomy of written and oral authority through which Bede establishes the contrast between the Kentish and Northumbrian scenes of conversion. The major agents of written literacy become Theodore and Hadrian, who, along with Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid, are presented as the famous book-collectors in both versions.

Ironically, the *OEHE* treats Gregory's letters in precisely the same way Bede treats the British letters to Rome: it mentions them, and sometimes includes crucial details. In contrast to the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, where the lengthy texts of the papal letters interrupt the action and repeatedly focus all eyes and ears on the pope in Rome, the absence of these texts in the *OEHE* has the effect of making the Britons more conspicuously literate. Just as Augustine can send and receive messages from Rome, the British send their own 'ærendracas' ('messengers') with letters and petitions to Rome, asking for help fending off invaders.[38]

One effect of the omission of the papal letters from the *OEHE* is to make the literacy of the British clergy more prominent; it puts them on a more equal footing with Augustine in scenes like the conference on 'the borders of the Hwicce and the West Saxons' (i.e. on the borders of the zone in which their Church was preserved) very early in Book II. Knowing a bit more about the

34 *HE* III.5, p. 229.
35 *HE* III.3, p. 219.
36 *OEHE*, 'Preface', p. 4; *HE* 'Preface', p. 4.
37 See Meyvaert, 'Bede and Gregory the Great', p. 114, for the number of lines in the Latin.
38 *OEHE* I.9, p. 44; I.10, p. 48.

survival of their Church in the sixth century casts a different light on British concerns about forsaking their longstanding traditions that they voice at this meeting. This scene, known in Bede's terms as 'Augustine's Oak', reads quite differently in the Old English, as does Æthelfrith's slaughter of the twelve-hundred praying monks. I should reiterate here that the *OEHE* never becomes openly apologetic for the British Church or its practices at any point. Nevertheless, by omitting Bede's account of the Pelagian heresy, the *OEHE* removes a number of chapters including vivid scenes and powerful images of heresy as a poisonous infection that seriously undermine the authority and credibility of the British in Bede's Latin. At the same time, of course, by cutting these episodes, the Old English also removes the miracle granted to the British monks in the famous 'Alleluiah victory'. At this meeting at the border then, the British, shorn of their miraculous authority, meet Augustine, shorn of the letter of his textual authority. Both are convinced of the value and weight of their longstanding traditions. Without the support of papal or miraculous authority, the behavior of both parties at the council can be read as some combination of pride meeting pride, a clash which inevitably leads to discord rather than harmony.

We can probably assume that Augustine and the British bishops communicated in Latin, though Bede never says so. It may have been that translators were also present at this scene, but that they have once again been erased from the historical narrative. Although Bede famously describes Latin as being 'in general use' among all five peoples of Britain,[39] it clearly fails to function in this capacity for Aidan, Oswald and their Northumbrian audience. Bede's claim of the universal use of Latin is problematic when considering seventh-century Northumbria. Although Latin remained in use in pockets of Britain after 410, Roger Wright has shown that Insular and Continental forms of Latin diverged,[40] not unlike the different practices regarding Easter and tonsure that become so problematic in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. While written Latin was the universal language of the intelligentsia in Europe, especially after the Carolingian reforms, it was not so established in sixth- and seventh-century England. It is important to realize that Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* reads history backwards in this regard. Writing in Latin, Bede himself helps to *construct* Latin as a universal language. As such, Latin becomes an extension of the unifying power of the Church, the representation of which constitutes Bede's main agenda and forms the basis for most of the erasures and elisions that take place in the text.

One could argue that the immediate international popularity of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* in the early Middle Ages provides testimony of the position of Latin as a language transcending vernacular and national divisions. But to do

39 *HE* I.1, pp. 16–17.

40 *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Middle Ages*, ed. Roger Wright (University Park, PA, 1986); Roger Wright, *A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 10 (Turnhout, 2002); Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool, 1982). Bede's *De Prthographia* is also largely about this – a guide to pronouncing Latin correctly, not with an 'English' accent or Vulgar Latin / proto-Romance phonetic developments.

so is to overlook key differences between England and the Continent: prior to the ninth century, the division of the various Romance languages from 'vulgar' Latin had not happened yet. At the time, these languages existed along a spectrum with Latin; learning Latin as a foreign language was a problem specific to the British Isles and anyone who went there. As Joyce Hill argues,

> We have first to understand that, in England, there was a particular pedagogical problem to be addressed, for which a measure of innovation was essential, since Latin was so far removed from the Germanic vernacular that it had to be learnt and maintained in a situation of linguistic disjunction, always as a hard-won, bookish second language. In this respect the linguistic conditions in England were significantly different from the conditions prevailing in those areas of the old Roman Empire where the evolving vernacular was a development of vulgar Latin, for in these areas the formal Latin that was learnt in the process of acquiring literacy existed on a continuous spectrum with the native language. Thus, in Francia, for example, perhaps up until the tenth century, and in parts of southern Europe for rather longer still, the difficulty of language and learning in the context of learning literacy was nowhere near as great as it was in Anglo-Saxon England.[41]

Accessibility to, and literacy in, Latin remained at best a fraught issue throughout early England. As Richard Gameson points out,

> we should resist deducing from [King Alfred's words] that ignorance of Latin was a specifically ninth-century problem. It was then that matters came to a head, but there had evidently been difficulties in Bede's day, and it was perhaps inevitable that this should be so for an insular society, to whose native culture the language was so wholly alien.[42]

Returning to the scene of translation at Æthelbert's court, we should remember that this is at least the third 'introduction' of Latin as a language of power and prestige to the island we now call England. Latin may have only flared briefly with Caesar in 55 B.C.E., but it returned to stay as the language of trade, as well as the language Romano-British aristocracy, soldiers and merchants after formal annexation by Rome in 43 C.E. until *c.* 410.[43] With the acceptance of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman empire, Latin became the language of Holy Scripture, which increased the number of people in Britain who needed or wanted access to that language, whether in aural or written form. The written innovations of Insular scribes who were learning Latin as a foreign language, including word separation and punctuation, are justly famous in the history of writing in general.[44] As we have seen, even after Rome removed its troops from Britain, Latin persisted among some of the remaining Romano-British, as well as among the British Christians, albeit in their micro-communities. As I discuss in Chapter 2, Richard Sharpe and John Blair have shown that parts of Britain sustained Latin written culture

41 Joyce Hill, 'Learning Latin in Anglo-Saxon England: Traditions, Texts and Techniques', in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 7–30, at pp. 8–9.

42 Gameson, 'Destruction and Production', p. 199.

43 David Shotter, *Roman Britain*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2004), p. 6.

44 Paul Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997).

sufficient to produce Gildas's skilled rhetoric and that trade continued between Britain and the Mediterranean, which also means some language and cultural contact continued. Queen Bertha and her Frankish bishop Liudhard brought Latin (and Frankish) directly to Æthelbert's court in Kent around seventeen years prior to the arrival of Augustine.

Although the extent to which the Anglo-Saxon settlers beyond Kent had contact with Latin remains unclear, it seems likely that Bede may have been engaging in some rhetoric himself when he describes how Augustine turned back from his mission because he was afraid of the 'barbarous' and 'fierce' people 'whose language they did not even understand'. At the least, Augustine had speakers of a related Germanic language with him. And as we have seen, he may have even had native speakers with him. He also had advice about translators and letters of introduction. I would like to suggest that Augustine's fears of making such a 'dangerous, wearisome, and uncertain . . . *peregrinationem*' highlights the fact that we are reading about contact between alien cultures and languages in an *ecclesiastical* history here.[45] Furthermore, this moment not only reflects Bede's brilliance in weaving symbolic meaning into his history, but it also creates a space in and through which the translation generates new meanings.

Translation as Transformation: Conversion and the Christian Language of Exile

The multiple letters of introduction from Pope Gregory that Augustine carried with him on his journey make it clear that Augustine knew full well that he was not headed for the land of the Donestre; rather, if he paid attention to Merovingian propaganda, he might have believed that he was going to a province under Merovingian control.[46] Bede's choice of the word *peregrinatio* to describe Augustine's journey suggests that he is structuring this mission to the English specifically as a kind of pilgrimage *pro amore Dei*. Bede's introduction of the term *peregrinatio* here taps into a tradition that is emphatically Irish in origin. Given Bede's many tales of *peregrini*, we can see a blending of traditions here that would allow Irish practices to comment implicitly upon the attitudes of at least one Roman. The fact that Augustine wants to give up this journey marks both how frightening a prospect the journey could be, and may reiterate some of the now commonplace observations about his limitations as the leader of this mission. More importantly,

45 *HE* I.23, pp. 68–9.

46 The Donestre are monsters that appear in *The Wonders of The East*, which survives in two copies, one of which is in the *Beowulf* manuscript. The Donestre 'have grown like soothsayers from the head to the navel, and the other part is human. And they know all human speech. When they see someone from a foreign country, they name him and his kinsmen . . . and with lying words they beguile him and capture him, and after that eat him all up except for the head, and then sit and weep over the head.' *The Wonders of the East*, trans. Andy Orchard, in *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Toronto, 2003), p. 197. On the question of Merovingian control, see Wood 'Augustine and Gaul'.

Bede's introduction of this term opens a narrative arc, which reveals not only the degree to which he has absorbed practices shaped by Irish influence, but also the ways in which the language of otherness and translation in the *OEHE* deepens the symbolism by which the text represents life in this world as exile from one's true home and language.

As Mary Campbell points out, 'Christianity is . . . the first Western religion in which the sacred territory is located emphatically Elsewhere. As a result, Christian pilgrimages are the first to lead pilgrims abroad on their religious travels'.[47] Gillian Clark has noted how Augustine of Hippo extended this sense of being elsewhere: 'For Augustine', she writes,

> classical education and Platonist philosophy combine with Scripture to give *peregrinatio* the dominant sense of being away from where one wants to be. A *peregrinus* is not a pilgrim, a purposeful traveler in search of enlightenment, but it is someone who feels foreign and wants to go home.[48]

Augustine of Canterbury demonstrates this longing literally, by returning to Rome while still *en route*. The *OEHE* records his fears of 'þa elreordan þeode' ('that barbarous people') as well as his concerns about the going 'in swa uncuðe elþeodignesse' ('to a barbarous race so utterly unknown').[49] The translator uses the word *elreordig* several times for Latin 'barbarous'. Although forms of *elþeodig*- can have precisely the same denotation, the *OEHE* always uses *elþeodignes* to translate *peregrinatio* ('journey' or 'pilgrimage').[50]

The Old English translator's use of the word *elþeodig* expresses and extends the richness of this concept. If one is *elþeodig*, one is 'from a foreign land, alien, exiled . . . abroad'. To break the word down, one is *el*-, foreign or strange, to one's *þeod*, which can mean people, land and language. The suffix -*ig*, connotes 'possession of an object denoted by the stem'.[51] In addition to being a traveler, exile, stranger or foreigner, then, inherent to the meaning of *elþeodig* is the sense that one is also alienated from his or her language in a sense not included in *peregrinus*. In becoming *elþeodig*, the pilgrim or traveler can be read as someone who paradoxically takes possession of a variety of forms of alienation in service to God. The English word highlights the haunting 'presence of absence' that lies, as Augustine of Hippo emphasizes, at the heart of the Christian experience.

The alienation from God inherent in Christianity, which resonates at the core of the image of the *peregrinus*, reflects the alienation of the fallen state of humanity. At the core of the English word *elþeodig* one also finds the alienation of the crisis of language, capturing, in a word, the ways in which one is translated in this life from one's true people, homeland and language, in a

47 Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, 1988), p. 18.

48 Gillian Clark, 'Pilgrims and Foreigners: Augustine on Traveling Home', in *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity*, ed. Linda Ellis and Frank L. Kidner (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 149–58, at p. 149.

49 *OEHE* I.13, pp. 56–7.

50 The one possible exception is when Oswald is kind to the 'elþeodig' at Easter, *OEHE* III, 3, p. 164.

51 Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*.

world that is not only post-Eden, but post-Babel. Paradoxically, however, the *elþeodig* can also be read as one who must engage a conjunction of cultures, a journey reflecting the richness, rather than the poverty, of translation. In a sense, one who embraces *elþeodignes* literally comes into possession of oneself as alienated in a way that inhabits the metaphor of earthly life in Christianity, as well as the constant sense of being alienated from God in human or earthly language, the insufficiency of which is a trope.

Although the *OEHE* has King Æthelbert describe Augustine as being 'feorran elþeodige cwomon', it is really Furseus who introduces the practice of willingly seeking exile in the service of God into the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. This practice becomes one of the dominant practices throughout the later books. The *OEHE* does use *elþeodig* in reference to both Augustine and Wilfrid, key representatives of Roman Christianity, but both are unwilling exiles who actively seek to return home. Additional men and women of English descent follow the pattern in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, including Hild, Ecgbert, King Ceadwala, Wihtbriht and the Heawalds. Because they imitate the *elþeodignes* of the Heawalds, Willibrord and his eleven counterparts can be described as *elþeodig* by association. The majority of these voluntary exiles are from the north, first following, then adapting the model of their Irish counterparts.[52] These journeys also carry more symbolic weight in the *OEHE* than in their source text, because they are not framed by Bede's excerpts from Adomnán's book of holy places – another key omission from the Old English version.[53]

Bede's admiration for the *peregrinus*, and also for the hermetic life of men like Cuthbert and Aidan, remains clear; significant portions of Books IV and V are dedicated to their efforts and sanctity. However, Bede draws a clear distinction between these two experiences. Even Dryhthelm, who journeys to the Otherworld in Book V, lives as a hermit afterwards. The distinction, as T. M. Charles-Edwards points out, is that for Bede, '*peregrinatio* . . . implie[s] a journey overseas'.[54] Living in isolation is a great virtue, but *peregrinatio*, in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, involves mission.[55] It becomes a form of cultural and linguistic isolation that emphasizes otherness and exile at the same time that it paradoxically necessitates cultural and linguistic contact – in other words – translation.

Returning to the Old English term *wealhstod* (which, as I discuss in my introduction, the *OEHE* uses to refer to Augustine's Frankish translators, as well as to King Oswald) and Bede's construction of Latin as a universal language, it becomes clear that the semantic fields of the terms *wealhstod* and

52 Fursey, *HE* III.14. See also Kathleen Hughes, 'The Changing Theory and Practice of Irish Pilgrimage', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 11 (1960), 143–51; T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Social Background to Irish Peregrinatio', *Celtica* 11 (1976), 43–59; Mary Clayton, 'Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Holy Men and Holy Women*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1996), pp. 147–75.

53 *HE* V, pp. 16–17.

54 Charles-Edwards, 'Social Background', p. 44.

55 While the Irish models begin with going away to live in isolation, or living on the borders of civilization where the *peregrinus* is a soldier for God, battling the demons that live on the edges of the human world, in the *HE*, the *peregrini* that Bede represents engage in acts of conversion.

elþeodig resonate with the tensions of linguistic and cultural confrontation at play during scenes of conversion. Bede's authoritative narrative and his own use of Latin tend to minimize these tensions – unless he himself chooses to articulate the discord, for example, between the Churches in Britain over the issues of tonsure or Easter. The word choices of the Old English translator, in contrast, bring these tensions to the foreground. The absence of the papal letters in Book I radically condenses the narrative. Without the first-person voice of Gregory the Great reiterating the authority of himself, Augustine and Roman Christianity, the presence of the British bishops, their literacy and their commitment to their own longstanding practices creates a very different balance of power in these scenes of conversion and confrontation. By carefully choosing some words, and by taking others away, the Old English translators turn their own scene of translation into a space in which they can exercise the generative capacity of language to say something more about the place of the Christian as *elþeodig*, for whom translation is not secondary, but necessary.

In theory at least, anyone who reads Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* reads Æthelbert's letter; anyone who reads the *OEHE* learns of it, but does not read it. When we consider the *OEHE* not only from the perspective of its creation – in terms of its degree of fidelity or competence as an act of transference from Latin into English – but also as an active interpretation of Bede's text, and a text that was itself read and interpreted in light of the dynamics of continuity and change that inform its historical contexts, we have a better understanding of the text, as well as a better sense of its structure and purpose. Bringing source and translation together to interrogate translation as a negotiation across cultural, temporal and discursive differences between languages and over time reveals some of the ways in which the Old English version – despite its apparent literalness – revises its source to enhance the symbolic impact of the text. The broad strokes of difference and resistance painted by Bede's account of the relationship between the British, Irish and English Churches remain in place, but the omissions to the *OEHE* have significant narrative repercussions. Being alert to the rhetorical impact of removing the papal letters reveals the degree to which they help construct the authority of Rome in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, especially in Book I. In the spaces left by the omission of the letters in the *OEHE*, different voices and moments assume greater effect. Examining the full semantic range of words such as *elþeodignes* reveals the degree to which the main Old English translator enhances his source in a way that clearly reflects how the Church that becomes dominant in England by the end of Bede's account results from the efforts of, and confrontations between, a wide range of peoples, languages and practices.

Summary of Papal Letters in the Historia Ecclesiastica and OEHE

1. *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.23, pp. 68–71: Gregory to Augustine, encouragement to persevere, text included.
OEHE I.13, pp. 56–7: mentioned
Not in Papal register.

2. *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.24, pp. 70–3: Gregory to Etherius, archbishop of Arles
OEHE: no mention

3. *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.27, pp. 78–103: Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum*
OEHE: End of Book III, complete text. Question of authenticity persists in some circles.

4. *HE* I.28, pp. 102–3: Gregory to Vergillius, bishop of Arles
OEHE: no mention

5. *HE* I.29, pp. 104–7: Gregory to Augustine about the pallium and bishoprics
OEHE I.16, pp. 90–1, mention

6. *HE* I.30, pp. 106–9: Gregory to Mellitus (sent after)
OEHE: no mention

7. *HE* I.31, pp. 108–11: Gregory to Augustine against pride in miracles, partial in *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Bede omits 1st 22 and last 82 lines of the Latin, p. 69).
OEHE: no mention

8. *HE* I.32, pp. 110–15: Gregory to Æthelbert
OEHE I.16, pp. 90–1: mention of letter and gifts

9. *HE* II.8, pp. 158–61: Boniface to Justus
OEHE: no mention; though in II.7, it states that Justus 'received authority from Pope Boniface' (118–19).

10. *HE* II.10, pp. 166–71: Boniface to Edwin
OEHE II.9, pp. 124–5, mention

11. *HE* II.11, pp. 172–5: Boniface to Æthelburh
OEHE: no mention

12. *HE* II.17, pp. 194–7: Honorius to Edwin
OEHE II.14, pp. 146–7: mention

13. *HE* II.18, pp. 196–9 Pope Honorius to Bishop Honorius
OEHE II.15, mention, details of power to consecrate

14. *HE* II.19, pp. 198–203: Honorius to the Irish (partial in *Historia Ecclesiastica*)
OEHE: no mention

15. *HE* III.29, pp. 318–23: Vitalian on the death of Wigheard
OEHE III.21, pp. 248–9: summary, 10 lines.

Also, II.4: both texts mention letters from Pope Boniface to Laurence and Æthelbert, *HE*, pp. 148–9, *OEHE*, pp. 108–9. No full text in *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

6

Queen Takes Bishop

Marriage, Conversion and Papal Authority in the OEHE[1]

> Sanctificatus est enim vir infidelis in muliere fideli et sanctificata est mulier infidelis per virum fidelem alioquin filii vestri inmundi essent nunc autem sancti sunt.[2]
>
> [For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the believing husband: else were your children unclean; but now are they holy.]

The scenes of conversion shift geographically in Book II of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and *OEHE*, first moving north to the court of Edwin, king of Northumbria (616–33) then to Mercia and Wessex. Notably, Edwin marries Æthelburh, the daughter of Æthelbert and Bertha. Like her mother, Æthelburh travels to the court of a pagan king as a bride. Also like her mother, Æthelburh receives a letter from the pope that Bede's main Old English translator omits. Reading the stories of Bertha, Æthelburh and several other women between the lines of the *OEHE* reveals a pattern of presence and absence operating across the scenes of conversion in the text that centers on the role of brides and marriage in conversion.[3] This pattern raises issues that resonate with some of the concerns in Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum*, which the *OEHE* includes, but moves to a position at the end of Book III.[4] This chapter builds on the discussion in the previous chapter to examine the role of brides and marriage in conversion, the way that omitting the papal letters from Book II affects these representations and the repositioning of the *Libellus Responsionum* in relation to issues of marriage, sexuality and episcopal authority.

To be more specific, a close examination of the differences between the Latin and the Old English reveals that the translator brings into focus a fuller picture of the agents of conversion in early Anglo-Saxon England, especially the wives and daughters who fostered conversion, and who forged or broke political alliances. By downplaying Bede's emphasis on spiritual marriage

1 I presented a preliminary version of this essay at 'Anglo-Saxon Futures II', King's College, London, May 2008.
2 1 Cor. 7:14, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgata Versionem* (Stuttgart, 1969, rpt. 1994).
3 See the summary of marriages and consecrations in Books II and III, p. 133.
4 I also discuss the placement of the *Libellus Responsionum* in 'Shifting Contexts'. A version of the section of this chapter about Edwin's conversion and the birth of his daughter was published as part of my essay, 'Bede in Later Anglo-Saxon England'.

and placing Gregory's detailed discussions of female sexuality in an emphatic position at the end of Book III, the translator more clearly acknowledges the role of marriage and women in conversion. The move also calls attention to the ways in which conversion changes marriage, and allows the female body to symbolize the human body in general. Just as Christian brides journey into new contexts and move history forward in a combination of marriages, childbirth and treachery, Bede's translator changes emphasis, order and nuance so as to produce new meaning in the spaces between Bede's time and his own. Combined, these changes may suggest the increased usefulness of the vernacular text to lay or female audiences or, later on, to secular clergy dealing directly with married folk, though these ideas must remain speculative.[5]

Although the omission of the papal letters is most striking in Book I, the translator's treatment of the letters has repercussions on the narrative logic of the *OEHE* as a whole. Bede includes letters from Gregory's successors Boniface and Honorius in Books II and III of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, though there are fewer. The *OEHE* continues to omit or radically summarize them. Overall, Books II–IV are less changed than Books I and V; however, the interpolation of Gregory the Great's *Libellus Responsionum* at the end of Book III in all of the *OEHE* manuscripts creates another striking difference between the Old English translation and Bede's Latin. Placing the *Libellus Responsionum* at the end of Book III dissociates it from Æthelbert's court in Kent and it pulls papal authority forward into the mid-seventh century, repositioning both on the eve of Theodore's arrival, which is also after most of the English had converted and apostasy among them had finally ceased (at least in Bede's account). Gregory's responses about marriage, childbirth and menstruation, in turn, call attention to the connections between conversion to Christianity and marriage in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *OEHE*. A closer examination shows that these practical and ritual issues related to marriage and sexuality are inextricably bound to conversion and Christianity in the text, not only because the *Libellus Responsionum* deals with questions raised by Augustine shortly after the conversion of Kent, but also because marriage facilitates many of the conversions that Bede recounts in Books II and III. The images of exile and mission discussed in the previous chapter constantly shadow – and are shadowed by – images of marriage and kinship. As a result, the repositioning of the *Libellus Responsionum* in the *OEHE* calls attention not only to issues of royal and episcopal power, but also to the combination of elements subsumed and controlled by conversion and imperium in Bede's narrative, especially marriage and sexuality.

5 See Michelle P. Brown, 'Female Book-Ownership and Production in Anglo-Saxon England: The Evidence of the Ninth-Century Prayerbooks', in *Lexis and Texts in Early English: Studies Presented to Jane Roberts*, ed. Christian Kay and Louise Sylvester (Amsterdam, 2001), pp. 45–67. In relation to secular clergy, I am thinking of Leofric's Exeter and the fourteenth-century signs of use in T. See Chapter 9.

Marriage and Conversion

One need only think of the Song of Songs to recognize the fact that biblical literature draws on the image of the bride as a symbol for the human relationship with God. The greetings to Gregory the Great's letters quoted in the previous chapter also demonstrate the degree to which Christianity appropriates the terminology of the family to describe (or establish) relationships within its communities. This language of marriage and family works in conjunction with the images of exile and alienation to describe the experience of the Christian in this world, as well as his or her relationship to God and language. The convert becomes *elþeodig*, alienated from God and home at the moment of conversion, but paradoxically also joins a new family as the bride of Christ, foster-child or god-child. Bede develops these themes in a series of repeated but varied conversions that involve exile, pagan kings and Christian wives and their children. Looking closely at the choices that Bede's main Old English translator makes when representing these interactions reveals the ways in which the *OEHE* deepens the symbolism of Christian alienation and association embedded in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, as well as an economy of substitution that resonates across this range of practices. In this economy, women and translation both function as 'double agents', in the sense developed by Clare Lees and Gillian Overing, as presences revealed by their absence.[6]

As evident in the case of Kent and the Franks discussed in Chapter 5, issues of power are inextricably woven through Bede's accounts of conversion in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Although Simon Keynes's discussion of Oswiu's interventions in Southumbria suggests that Christian concerns informed Oswiu's choices, N. J. Higham argues that 'rulers treated religious policy as an integral part of the strategies available to them by which to pursue their own interest'.[7] Arnold Angenendt articulates one such strategy in the connection between baptismal sponsorship and the extension of imperium in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[8] Angenendt discusses the ways in which baptismal sponsorship allows kings to foster spiritual and political 'sons', as a way of extending political influence, so that 'both land and [territorial] church could be enlarged through the efforts of missionaires [*sic*] under the ruler's patronage'.[9] Angenendt also focuses on the role of unbaptized sons as a way to articulate a 'process of accommodation' between kings and nobles in relation to conversion, drawing several examples from the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, including the sons of Æthelbert, Rædwald and Sæbert of Essex.[10] Drawing on evidence from Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent, Angenendt argues

6 Lees and Overing, *Double Agents*, pp. 2, 6.

7 Higham, *Convert Kings*, p. 1.

8 Simon Keynes, 'Rædwald the Bretwalda', in *Voyage to the Other World: The Legacy of Sutton Hoo*, ed. Calvin B. Kendall and Peter S. Wells, Medieval Studies at Minnesota 5 (Minneapolis, 1992), pp. 103–23, at p. 109; and A. Angenendt, 'The Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons', in *Angli e sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare: 26 aprile – 1 maggio 1984*, Settimane di studio del centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 32, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1986), pp. 747–81, at pp. 752–6.

9 Ibid., p. 768.

10 Ibid., pp. 750–4.

that the unbaptized son forms a dynastic buffer in the case of political loss to non-Christians, allowing for a kind of test period for Christianity.[11] The number of reversals and setbacks the progress of conversion faces in Bede's narrative, and religious division in royal families, signals how complex the relationship between political power and religious belief (and practices) was. Problematically, however, Angenendt overlooks the roles that daughters and wives play, both in the process of conversion and of baptismal sponsorship. Kings not only promise to consecrate daughters in hopes of martial victory, but they also arrange marriages for them in order to build or strengthen political alliances; these marriages regularly coincide with conversion. As we have seen in the case of Bertha and Æthelbert, however, the historical evidence does not always provide enough information to discern either priority or cause and effect with absolute precision when it comes to marriage, alliance, conversion and overlordship in early England.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the question of Bertha's role in Æthelbert's conversion features in decades of scholarship, from Henry Mayr-Harting's classic *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* and N. J. Higham's *Convert Kings* to the work of Ian Wood, Stephanie Hollis and Arnold Angenendt.[12] Hollis investigates several marriages like Æthelbert's and Bertha's, concluding that early Anglo-Saxon wives helped form relational bonds, but that prestige demanded that conversion be a male-to-male interaction.[13] Angenendt describes this male-to-male interaction in detail, identifying an important connection between unconverted sons, the royal sponsorship of baptism and imperium in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[14] As Lees and Overing have demonstrated, however, Bede's reticence about women like Bertha and Hild elides the agency of women: they appear in the narrative, only to disappear. Others, including Stacy Klein, Pauline Stafford and Mary Dockray-Miller, investigate women, queenship and motherhood in early England.[15] They generally find Bede's treatment of women wanting. Although the *OEHE* does not provide any new information about female agency in these contexts, it does reveal a new perspective from which to join this conversation and extend to Bede and his Old English translator some of the revisionist possibilities that Klein discusses in *Ruling Women*.[16] Rather than reflecting a stereotypical sense of medieval misogyny at work, Bede's treatment of women, especially queens like Bertha, Æthelburh and Cyneburh, can be read as part of the larger dynamic I have been articulating, whereby

11 Ibid., p. 754.
12 See Chapter 2, n. 4.
13 Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women*, p. 228.
14 Angenendt, 'Conversion', pp. 750–2.
15 Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, 'Birthing Bishops and Fathering Poets: Bede, Hild, and the Relations of Cultural Production,' *Exemplaria* 6 (1994), 35–65; Mary Dockray-Miller, *Motherhood and Mothering in Anglo-Saxon England*, The New Middle Ages Series, ed. Bonnie Wheeler (London, 2000); Pauline Stafford, *Gender Family and the Legitimation of Power*; Stacy Klein, *Ruling Women*, and 'Reading Queenship in Cynewulf's Elene', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33.1 (2003), 47–91.
16 Klein herself does not extend her revisionist approach to include Bede; see *Ruling Women*, pp. 17–52.

Bede's agenda to represent the unifying power of the Church causes him to elide linguistic diversity, minimize acts of translation (especially between Latin and English), and downplay the role of women in conversion. Because the *OEHE* moves or removes the papal letters, and because of its own status as a translation, it casts these issues in a different light. It pulls forward tensions of intimacy and alienation that echo in scenes of marriage and conversion, revealing a symbolic economy of substitution in both texts.

This symbolic economy appears in what can be described as an almost mathematical cancelling of agents in several key conversion scenes. From the marriages of Bertha and Æthelburh, to those of Alhflæd and Cyneburh, the role of women as the forgers of kinship ties is superseded by male–male bonds within the Christian structures appropriating the language of those very kinship bonds. Long before he becomes king, Æthelbert marries Bertha, who brings her bishop, Liudhard, and continues practicing Christianity at King Eormenric's court. According to the papal register, the English seek conversion from Rome, and Augustine comes to convert the king. Bede's account of Edwin repeats the pattern: Edwin seeks marriage with Bertha's Christian daughter, Æthelburh, *c.* 625. Paulinus, who had come to Kent in 601, was consecrated bishop and traveled with her. Unlike Liudhard, Paulinus establishes a direct relationship with Edwin and, after some effort, converts him.[17] Although Bede emphasizes Paulinus's spiritual intentions and focuses on the conversion of Northumbria over Æthelburh's marriage, the marriage plays a crucial role in the process of conversion, as I discuss in greater detail below.

Marriage, overlordship and the elision of female agency also come into play in Bede's account of Oswald, whom Bede treats as Edwin's successor. Although Oswald converts to Christianity while in exile in Ireland during Edwin's reign, his marriage combines conversion as a fostering-familial relationship with conversion as marriage. Oswald stands godfather to Cynegils, king of the West Saxons, at his conversion. Bede explicitly states that Oswald 'accepts [Cynegils] as his son', then marries his daughter, Cyneburh, thereby also becoming his son.[18] Nameless and redundant within Bede's narrative, Cyneburh is married to her father's spiritual father, caught up in what could be described as a kind of spiritual incest. Cementing affiliation and power via transgression, albeit symbolic, she remains intrinsic to the exchange because she translates the bond between godfather and son to another audience, as the bond between father-in-law and son-in-law.[19]

By marrying his godson's daughter, Oswald explicitly demonstrates the degree to which Christianity appropriates and transforms kinship bonds traditionally forged by marriage amongst the Germanic tribes. A sufficient

17 In Bede's account of Liudhard, anyway. We have no evidence as to whether Liudhard or Bertha sought to influence Æthelbert. See Chapter 5.

18 *HE* III.vi, p. 232. See also Angenendt, 'Conversion', p. 755ff.

19 It is interesting to note that by the time of Ine's Laws (668–94) the Christian family bond had been codified to the extent that murderers owed wergild to godfathers or godsons as well as lords. *English Historical Documents, c. 500–1042*, ed. and trans. Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), p. 372.

number of kings and sons of kings apostatized during the conversion period to demonstrate (despite Bede's best efforts) that securing multiple forms of alliance may not have been entirely redundant. Like Rædwald's simultaneous maintenance of two altars, doubling the bonds of baptism with the bonds of marriage, Oswald cements his overlordship of Wessex within two systems of meaning, or two levels of discourse, coexisting in early England. It is precisely this double discourse that the overarching, unifying but monolithic discourse of Christianity seeks to repress, or at least replace.

Cyneburh's marriage produces meaning from the perspective of secular social discourse, forming a double bond between Cynegils and Oswald that can be read as a kind of translation, requiring her presence and absence. In Derrida's formulation, translation is simultaneously 'necessary and impossible'. But the translation does not *reproduce*; rather, like a child it has

> the power to speak on its own which makes of a child something other than a product subjected to the law of reproduction. This promise signals a kingdom which is at once 'promised and forbidden where the languages will be reconciled and fulfilled'. This is the most Babelian note in an analysis of sacred writing as the model and the limit of all writing . . . The sacred and the being-to-be-translated do not lend themselves to thought one without the other. They produce each other at the edge of the same limit. [20]

Cyneburh's role in history, as opposed to her role in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, is to form a legible kinship bond between tribes, producing meaning on the edge of Christianity and kingship. But that double bond is one that the unifying dynamic inherent in Christianity seeks to appropriate and erase. Cyneburh's son, Œthelwald, however, belies her absence in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. As a result, the case of Cyneburh reflects the degree to which dynamics of power, marriage, conversion and language remain inextricably bound up with one another in Bede's account of the conversion of Anglo-Saxon England.

Such substitutions become even more marked throughout the course of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and *OEHE*. The conversion of Peada, son of Penda, is case in point. According to Bede, Peada 'was earnestly persuaded to accept the faith', because of his friendship with his brother-in-law, Alhfrith, son of Oswiu, who was at Penda's court.[21] But Peada does not convert directly; rather, he seeks to marry Alfrith's sister Alhflæd. Confronted with the condition that he convert to Christianity so that he might marry her, Peada declares that he is 'ready to become a Christian even though he were refused the hand of the maiden'.[22] While Bede names Alhflæd, and describes part of the pattern we have already seen, Christianity alone becomes Peada's explicit object of desire. Bede never actually states that the marriage takes place; instead, the ceremony that Bede describes is Peada's baptism. Rather than returning home with a bride, Peada returns home with four priests to teach the Middle Angles. Although Alhflæd does go home with Peada and his priests, Bede

20 Derrida, 'Les Tours de Babel', p. 191.
21 Alhfrith was married to Penda's daughter, who was also named Cyneburh.
22 *HE* III.21, pp. 278–9.

never includes this information in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[23]

It may be the case that Bede omits any further discussion of the marriage, because Oswiu murders Peada in 656, possibly with Alhflæd's aid. Bede and his Old English translator report the suspicion separately from the account of the conversion of the Middle Angles, stating that he died 'proditione ut dicunt, coniugis suae', 'þurh meldunge, þæs þe men secgað, his agenes wiifes' ('through the treachery, or so it is said, of his own wife').[24] As I have noted, Keynes sees Oswiu's sponsorship of Peada as Christian in intent, but the suggestion of Alhflæd's treachery raises questions about Oswiu's motives when marrying his daughter to the son of his enemy. Despite two marriages theoretically binding the kings together, in Bede's account, Oswiu, a Christian, suffered 'savage and insupportable attacks' from Penda, a pagan, so he rallies his men for war. To ensure his victory over Penda and to compensate for the absence of his nephew Œthelwald (Oswald's son, who fought with his enemies) and of his son Ecgfrith (who was hostage to Penda), Oswiu vows to consecrate another daughter, Ælfflæd, to God, and to found twelve monasteries.[25] Victorious, Oswiu fulfills these vows, and places his Christian son-in-law, Peada, in power in southern Mercia – but then kills him in the next year and takes control of the kingdom. Although the Mercians rebel and oust Oswiu very shortly thereafter, this episode shows Oswiu engaging or manipulating Christian practices and marriage ties in the pursuit of power.

Significantly, because the *OEHE* entirely omits the following chapter (III.25), Oswiu's crucial agency in resolving the Easter question in favor of Roman practices also disappears entirely from the English version. For readers of the *OEHE*, the account of Oswiu and Alhflæd ends not in Christian unity, but with the daughter possibly aiding the father against the interests of her husband, and the violent termination of a marriage for political purposes. Although Mercia remains Christian under Wulfhere after Oswiu is ousted, Oswiu's role in the *OEHE* differs dramatically from his role in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Alhflæd's marriage and actions, though elided in the narrative, play a role both in baptismal sponsorship and the extension of imperium, if briefly.

The Papal Letters to Edwin and Æthelburh

The presence and absence of papal letters affect the ways in which these accounts of marriage, conversion and power conflicts create meaning in the *OEHE*. Although Oswald, 'se halegesta ⁊ se sigefæsta cyning Norðanhymbra' ('the holiest and most victorious king of the Northumbrians'), takes on the roles of exile, missionary and, from a Pauline perspective, sanctifying member of his marriage, it is important to recognize that he never receives a single papal letter.[26] This may be because of his affiliation with Aidan and the Irish

23 Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 84.
24 *HE* III.24, p. 294; *OEHE* III.18, p. 240.
25 *HE* III. 24, pp. 288–95.
26 *OEHE* III.1, p. 168.

Church. Edwin, in contrast, receives two, the one from Boniface that I have already mentioned, and one from Honorius that Bede records in II.17. In the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the absence of any letter to Oswald helps Bede construct Irish Christianity as different and oral, especially in the famous scene where the king translates for his bishop Aidan. This orality contrasts with the written authority of Roman Christianity, which is repeatedly asserted by Bede's inclusion of the papal letters. This contrast is effectively dismantled in the *OEHE*. By removing Edwin's letters, Bede's translator not only continues to minimize that contrast, but he also transforms Edwin's conversion into a concise, dramatic story of marriage, a failed assassination attempt at Easter and the birth of his daughter.[27] By omitting the papal letters, the *OEHE* makes it easier to see how Bede's story of the conversion of the English can be read as a series of marriages, births and conversions that simultaneously reveal and conceal a variety of power dynamics.

By removing the lengthy, exhortatory letters from Boniface to Edwin and Æthelburh, the *OEHE* condenses the narrative. At first the condensed narrative seems to emphasize Paulinus's agency, the inspirational aspects of Edwin's conversion, and the degree to which the marriage becomes a symbol of, or pretense for, conversion in Bede's narrative. Rather than reading the long, detailed letter in which Pope Boniface himself exhorts Edwin to convert, or his precise directions to Æthelburh to teach her husband about the Holy Spirit, so that 'the unbelieving husband shall be saved by the believing wife',[28] the audience of the *OEHE* learns about a marriage, an earthly vision, and a highly symbolic conjunction of death and birth at Easter at the king's court.

Marriage and conversion are intimately connected in both versions; without the papal letters, however, bodies and substitutions become more prominent, as do local politics. Initially, Æthelburh's brother Eadbald, who had succeeded his father in Kent, refused to marry his Christian sister to the pagan Edwin, for fear that the pagan king would profane her. But Edwin agrees to allow her to continue practicing Christianity, and so they arrange the marriage. The Old English translator renders Bede's description of Paulinus's role and intentions quite literally. Bede reports that Paulinus accompanies Æthelburh 'quasi comes copulae carnalis', which the Old English renders with 'swa swa he wære gesið licumlicre gegaderung' ('as if here were an attendant to the bodily joining'). However, Bede emphasizes that Paulinus's real intentions were explicitly focused on converting the Northumbrians: 'sed ipse potius toto animo intendens ut gentem, quam adibat, ad agnitionem ueritatis aduocans iuxta uocem apostoli uni uero sponso uirginem castam exhiberet Christo' ('but more truly his whole heart was set on calling the people to whom he was coming to the knowledge of truth; his desire was to present it, in the words of

[27] For more on Edwin's conversion in the *HE*, see Rowley, 'Reassessing Exegetical Interpretations', and Calvin B. Kendall, 'Modeling Conversion: Bede's "Anti-Constantinian" Narrative of the Conversion of King Edwin', in *Conversion to Christianity: From Late Antiquity to the Modern Age: Considering the Process in Europe, Asia, and the Americas*, ed. Calvin B. Kendall, Oliver Nicholson, William D. Phillips, Jr., and Marguerite Ragnow (Minneapolis, MN, 2009), pp. 137–59.

[28] *HE* II.11, pp. 174–5.

the apostle, as a pure virgin to be espoused to one husband, even Christ').[29] The *OEHE* gives 'Ac he mare mid eallu(m) | his mode beheold þ(æt) heða þeode ðe he | gesohte þ(æt) he ða togelyfenne þæs |soþan godes ·⁊ to cristes geleafan · | þurh his láre gecigean ·' ('but he with all his mind intended more: to call the people that he sought to a belief in the true God and to Christ's faith through his teaching').[30] Notably, the Old English translation here omits Bede's reference to 2 Cor. 11:2, which describes the conversion of a people as a marriage. While the translation does call attention to Paulinus's focus on conversion, it leaves out the notion of conversion as a spiritual marriage. Æthelburh's marriage remains crucial in the *OEHE*.

Paulinus's whole-hearted intentions notwithstanding, his efforts to convert Edwin remain unrewarded until the famous assassination attempt on Edwin's life – an attempt made at Easter, which happens to be the same day on which Æthelburh gives birth to their daughter, Eanflæd. At the moment when Edwin receives the news of his daughter's safe and easy delivery (which Paulinus interprets for him as a gift from God), the king promises to convert; in the same breath, he gives his daughter to be consecrated to God. The baby Eanflæd becomes the 'ærest monna of Norðanhymbra þeode' ('the first person of the Northumbrian people') to be baptized. Although Edwin delays his own baptism, both Bede and his translator assert that he ceased to sacrifice to idols at the moment of this promise.[31]

The rapid succession of events in this scene of conversion: the assassination attempt, the substitute death of Lothere – Edwin's thane, who uses his body as a shield to protect his king – the birth of Eanflæd and Edwin's conversion resonate with Christian symbolism, especially the sacrificial death–rebirth symbolism of Easter. Despite Paulinus's focus on converting the Northumbrian people, that is, the spiritual importance of the marriage, the 'licumlicre gegaderung' reasserts itself in Eanflæd's birth. Lothere's death combined with her birth and consecration literalize the symbolic rebirth of her father at the time of his conversion. Although Æthelburh may seem to fade into the background of Bede's larger story of conversion, the birth of Eanflæd reasserts the Pauline idea that the believing wife sanctifies both husband and child. For Edwin's essential moment of conversion to center on the birth of his daughter, which intrudes rather spectacularly into a highly masculine scene of Anglo-Saxon feud at Edwin's court, is symbolically powerful.

With Bertha, Æthelburh and Eanflæd anticipating the conversion of their husbands and fathers, the *OEHE* clearly reflects the precedence of females in relation to Christianity on one level. By omitting the papal letters, which follow this chapter in Bede's Latin, the Old English redirects emphasis onto

29 *HE* II.9, pp. 164–5.

30 This is B96/18–22. *OEHE* II.9, p. 120. Miller prints 'þurh his lare gecegde' but translates B's reading 'gecigean' silently. Although Miller prints it, the reading in T is awkward at best. Scribal error may have rendered 'gecegde' for 'gecegnde', which would parallel the present participles in Bede's Latin. However, none of the manuscripts offer this reading.

31 *HE* II.9, p. 168; *OEHE* II.8, p. 124.

Æthelburh and the importance of Eanflæd's birth. It would be untrue, however, to assert that the *OEHE* unequivocally enhances female agency in the text. The removal of the papal letter does remove Boniface's acknowledgment of Æthelburh's status, along with his clear assumption about her literacy and agency, which inhere in his request that she write to him when she has converted her husband. Then again, while the *OEHE* reduces the amount of information it transmits about Æthelburh, it is the voice of Pope Boniface that the translation erases. In fact, the *OEHE* entirely collapses chapters 10 and 12 of Bede's Latin, omitting mention of both Edwin and Æthelburh's letter, which is chapter 11 in the Latin. It moves rapidly from the assassination–birth scene to mention the pope's letter to Edwin, then recount the 'heofonlic onwrignes' ('heavenly message') sent via Paulinus, a vision he has presaging his success and binding him to follow a sign given by the stranger. One might even suggest that Bede's account of Edwin's earthly vision while still an exile at Rædwald's court indicates that Edwin's relationship with Paulinus precedes his relationship with the princess, asserting the increasingly male-to-male economy of the conversions in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The shift of emphasis brought about by omitting the papal letters from the *OEHE* disrupts this economy to a degree, heightening the focus on Edwin's marriage and Eanflæd's birth.

Reading Gregory's Libellus Responsionum in Book III of the OEHE

If marriage facilitates conversion, however, conversion also radically changes the nature of marriage. Although Bede acknowledges that Paulinus was the 'gesið licumlicre gegaderung', he focuses on Paulinus's spiritual purposes and emphasizes conversion over marriage. But the 'licumlicre gegaderung' reasserts itself in Bede's narrative despite the symbolic substitutions and emphasis on male-to-male relations. Just as the birth of Eanflæd returns Æthelburh to a central role in Edwin's court and conversion, the repositioning of Gregory the Great's *Libellus Responsionum* at the end of Book III brings marriage and the female body into a central position in the *OEHE*. This repositioning not only allows the letter to resonate with themes of marriage and childbirth that run through the narrative, but it also allows Gregory's teachings to assert a specifically Roman orthodoxy not merely to the people of Kent, but to all of the Christian English, many of whom were newly converted, in mid-seventh-century Britain.

Because the Old English translator treats this letter differently from the other papal letters in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, it has been the subject of scholarly debate and marked editorial intervention, both of which warrant discussion. As I note in my Introduction, modern editions of the *OEHE* return the *Libellus Responsionum* to its position in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, at I.27. At first glance, editors such as Wheelock and Miller seem justified in moving the letter back into its chronological place in Bede's account of Augustine of Canterbury's mission; however, the *OEHE* reflects no error in Book I. The editing around

the omission of the letters is seamless. While later interventions in some of the *OEHE* manuscripts signal the textual disruption, the Anglo-Saxon scribes do not question the placement of Gregory's text. The rubricator of Ca indicates the end of Book III before the beginning of the *Libellus Responsionum*; the other manuscripts indicate the beginning of Book IV at the end of it, so present it visually as the last chapter of Book III. It does not appear at any point in the Old English list of chapter headings, which appears only at the beginning of manuscripts B and Ca.

Because chapters 16–18 of Book III appear in a completely different translation in the different branches of the manuscripts, Dorothy Whitelock considered the possibility that the repositioning of the *Libellus Responsionum* occurred because it was supplied by another translator acting to repair a lacuna in his source. According to Whitelock's analysis of the diction, however, the translation of the *Libellus Responsionum* was performed by the same person as the rest of the *OEHE*. Similarly, the text of the *Libellus Responsionum* in the *OEHE* also corresponds to the version of it found in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, rather than one of the other versions in circulation in the ninth century.[32] Whitelock concludes, then, that 'it is highly improbable that the omission of the [text] from Book I was occasioned by a lacuna in the Latin manuscript he was using'.[33] Nevertheless, Whitelock treats the placement of the *Libellus Responsionum* in the *OEHE* as an afterthought on the part of the translator, and suggests that he retained the letter as a second thought because of its continued historical relevance in the ninth century, an idea reiterated by Mildred Budny.[34] Whitelock bases her suggestion on a letter in which Pope John VIII recommends Gregory's advice to Æthelred, archbishop of Canterbury in 877/8. This observation, however, remains a sidebar to the main point of her essay, which was an attempt to discern whether the *OEHE* was a part of Alfred's program.[35]

The version of the *Libellus Responsionum* in the *OEHE* is almost complete, and, like the *OEHE* in which it is embedded, reveals a combination of literal and interpretative translation strategies. The translator intervenes and edits, as he does throughout Bede's text; though some of these alterations may reflect scribal error, others are clearly deliberate.[36] These deliberate alterations call attention to episcopal authority, the importance of regulating human (especially female) sexuality in relation to Christian mores, and also to the didactic agenda he shares with Bede. For example, Lynda Lamb has recently demonstrated that the Old English translator uses lexical doublings as a

32 Whitelock, 'Chapter-Headings', 266. On the circulation of the *Letter*, see Paul Meyvaert, 'Bede's Text of the *Libellus Responsionum* of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury', in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 23–7.

33 Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', p. 240.

34 Ibid., p. 240; Budny, *Catalogue*, pp. 503–4.

35 Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', p. 231.

36 One instance of error occurs in the answer to question three. T omits flogging as a possible punishment for someone who robs a church, so Miller omits it from his edition, but manuscripts O and Ca include it. This is another example demonstrating the possibility that some scribes of the *OEHE* had access to Bede's Latin, or in this case, possibly to another copy of the *Libellus Responsionum*. O62v/11, Ca48v/15.

translation strategy that enhances the ways in which the *Libellus Responsionum* interacts with the penitential and educational themes in the *OEHE*.[37] Building on Waite's discussion of doubling in the *OEHE*, Lamb focuses on the rhetorical nature of the doublings, which, combined with 'excisions, additions or rephrasings of passages . . . augment the didactic quality of the text' and integrate it with the penitential concerns articulated in the latter books of the *OEHE*.[38] Her analysis reveals a pattern in the English version of Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum*, because the translator tends to add doublings that 'reinforce the concept of moral improvement' embraced by both Bede and his translator in their prefaces. The doublings 'communicate consideration and learning; purity, impurity, and cleansing; lifestyle or behaviour; social identity and behavioural expectations, penance, discipline and correction; prohibition; and prayer'.[39] In Gregory's response to question eight, about entering the church after sexual activity, the Old English translator replaces forms of *lavo* with corresponding forms of the doubling 'aþwegen ⁊ bebaðod' five times.[40] While individual doublings may have little rhetorical impact, cumulatively, the repeated thematic doublings rhetorically enhance the practical and penitential nature of the text.

Another didactic translation strategy employed by Bede and Gregory's Old English translator is to mark the text clearly *as* a translation by repeating key passages in Latin and English. For example, 'Quod superest, date elemosynam et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis: ðætte ofer seo ⁊ to lafe, sellað ælmesse ⁊ eow beoð eal clæno' ('What is over and above, give as alms, and all things are clean unto you'), and 'Turpitudinem patris tui non reuelabis: Ne onwreoh þu scondlicnesse þines fæder. Ac forðon þe awriten is: Erunt duo in carne una: wer ⁊ wiif, heo tu beoð in anum lichoman' ('"Thou shalt not uncover thy father's shame." And it is written . . . "Man and wife, they two shall be in one body"').[41] This choice allows the translator to reiterate the authority and content of each passage, and to model translation.

Two additional revisions also suggest active intervention. The first relates to issues of episcopal authority and illegal marriage. In question five, the *OEHE* changes the focus of Gregory's discussion of John the Baptist's death. Gregory writes: 'cui non est dictum ut Christum negaret, et pro Christi confessione occisus est; sed quia isdem dominus noster Iesus Christus dixerat: "Ego sum ueritas", quia pro ueritate Iohannes occisus est, uidelicet et pro Christo sanguinem fudit' ('He was not bidden to deny Christ nor was he executed for his confession of Christ. But since our Lord Jesus Christ said, "I am the truth", and John was killed for the sake of truth, therefore he shed his blood for Christ').[42] Gregory's explanation describes how and why John

37 Lynda Lamb, 'Translation Technique and the Moral Theme: Gregory I's *Libellus Responsionum* in Book III of the Old English Bede', MA thesis, University of Otago, 2008.
38 Ibid., p. 174.
39 Ibid., p. 51.
40 Ibid., pp. 117–21.
41 *OEHE* I.26, pp. 66–7; *OEHE* I.26, pp. 70–1.
42 *HE* I.27, pp. 84–5.

the Baptist's beheading can be considered a martyrdom. In contrast, the *OEHE* reads simply, 'þa he þam cyninge sægde, þæt him alyfed nære þæt he his broðor wiif brohte ⁊ hæfde' ('because he said to the king that it was not permitted that he took and had his brother's wife').[43] Emphasizing how the martyr explained the spiritual law to the king, the Old English shifts the focus of explanation from the nature of martyrdom to the authority of the saint. While Whitelock observes that the Old English translator explains some of Bede's references for his 'inferior' audience,[44] I doubt whether such is the case here – the translator omits Gregory's justification for calling John a martyr and enhances a moment of confrontation between king and saint over an illegal marriage.

In another revealing moment, the *OEHE* alters and dramatically shortens Gregory's response to question six, about the consecration of bishops. This alteration may suggest greater interaction with Frankish bishops in conversion-era England. In the Latin, Gregory concedes that Augustine, who was the only bishop in England, would have to consecrate bishops alone to make it possible for there to be multiple bishops present at future consecrations. He asks, 'Nam quando de Gallis episcopi ueniunt, qui in ordinatione episcopi testes adsistant?' ('For how often do bishops come from Gaul who can assist as witnesses at the consecration of a bishop?').[45] He then goes on to compare the consecration of bishops to marriage, and an occasion for prayer and rejoicing. The Old English also recognizes that Augustine is alone, 'in þære þu ana nu gena eart biscop gemeted' ('for as yet you alone have been consecrated bishop'), but then suggests something quite different: 'Ac þe sculon of Gallia rice biscopas cuman, þa þe æt biscopes halgunge in witscipe stonde' ('but bishops shall come to you from Gaul, who may assist as witnesses at a bishop's consecration'). The translator entirely omits a direct comparison of conversion to spiritual marriage – just as he did in the case of Edwin and the conversion of Northumbria – again limiting his discussions of marriage to the political and the physical.[46]

This translation may also suggest that Bede's translator was aware of the active ties between England and Gaul of which Bede was unaware, or which he repressed.[47] The question of Frankish influence on the early English Church also arises in relation to the final two questions of the *Libellus Responsionum*. Although Rob Meens reads Augustine's questions about ritual purity in the *Libellus Responsionum* as signs of the influence of British and Irish Christianity on Augustine's mission, Clare Stancliffe argues that they are more likely to reflect Liudhard's Frankish concerns about such issues.[48] The *OEHE* transmits Gregory's long, detailed responses to these questions about baptism after

43 *OEHE* I.26, pp. 70–1.

44 'Just as he [the translator] is inferior to Bede, so are those for whom he is writing inferior to the readers Bede had in mind'. Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', p. 245.

45 *HE* I.27, pp. 86–7.

46 *OEHE*, *Libellus Responsionum*, pp. 72–3; the other instance is in relation to the conversion of Northumbria; see p. 122.

47 See Wood, 'Mission'.

48 Meens, 'Background', and Stancliffe, 'The British Church', p. 120.

childbirth, during menstruation and sexual intercourse, and about seminal emissions, quite literally and in full. As we come back to questions about the relationship between the English, Irish and Frankish Churches, these questions also return us to the themes of marriage, childbirth and human sexuality. While removing Gregory's comparison of consecration to marriage may seem as if it downplays marriage in the text, eliminating such a clear reference to a spiritual marriage focuses the references to marriage in the *Libellus Responsionum* in the *OEHE* on royal marriage. The 'licumlicre gegaderung' that Bede so regularly elides in favor of more spiritual meanings remains more political and physical in the *OEHE*.

Gregory's responses reiterate that sin inheres not in childbirth or menstruation but in the pleasure of the sexual act and human will. It is true, Gregory and his Old English translator admit, according to the Christian view, that the human need for procreation arises from sin, but 'þy nis beforan Godes ælmihtiges eagum ænig synn wæstmbeorendes lichoman' ('there is no sin before the eyes of the almighty God in the fruitfulness of the body').[49] In many ways, Gregory's final two responses provide an explanation of the nature of sin, and make a clear distinction between the old laws of Leviticus and the more spiritual interpretations of the New Testament, using the female body and human sexuality as his points of reference. It becomes clear, as Gregory reads menstruation as an illness, and draws explicit parallels between the pain of childbirth, hunger and thirst as symptoms of the fallen human condition in general, that the female body becomes symbolic for the fallen human body in general.

The Old English translator makes this shift more quickly, by substituting male personal pronouns before Gregory shifts his subject from women to humans more generally. The Latin reads:

> Sanctae autem communionis mysterium in eisdem diebus percipere non debet prohiberi. Si autem ex ueneratione magna percipere non praesumit, laudanda est; sed si perciperit, non iudicanda. Bonarum quippe mentium est, et ibi aliquo modo culpas suas agnoscere ubi culpa non est.
>
> [A woman ought not to be forbidden to receive the mystery of the Holy Communion at these times. If, out of deep reverence she does not venture to receive it, that is praiseworthy, but if she has received it she is not to be judged. It is the part of noble minds to acknowledge their faults to some extent even when no fault exists.][50]

But the Old English gives:

> Swelce eac in þæm ilcum dagum ne sceal him bewered beon þæm geryne onfon þære halgan gemænsumnesse. Gif þonne for micelre arwyrðnesse hwylc mon ne geþrystgað onfon, se is to herienne, ac gif he onfehð nis he to demenne. Forðon þara godra mooda ⁊ monna þeaw bið, þæt heo þær hwilum synne ongeotað, þær þe syn ne bið.
>
> [Also during these days they shall not be prohibited from receiving the Holy Communion. Now if anyone out of great veneration does not venture to receive,

49 *OEHE*, *Libellus Responsionum*, p. 74, my translation.
50 *HE* I.27, pp. 92–3.

> he is to be praised, but if he receive, he is not to be judged. For it is the habit of good minds and men that at times they imagine sin where there is no sin.][51]

While 'him' can refer to both men and women, Gregory is clearly still speaking of a woman, as 'sanctae', 'laudanda', and 'bonarum' signal grammatically. Gregory has already made the equation with the fallen human condition more generally, and he returns to that equation almost immediately after this passage, but the Old English has already shifted to 'hwylc mon', 'se' and 'he' in this very passage. On the one hand, this could be construed as a translation error, or as the erasure of women via translation. On the other hand, the ambiguity of 'mon' (as we have seen with Eanflæd, the 'aerest monna' to be baptized in Northumbria) and of Old English personal pronouns, and the preceding generalized discussion of humanity may have led the translator to maintain a more generalized tone and grammatical gender. In this case, reading female sexuality as a metaphor for the fallen human condition becomes more pervasive in the Old English version.

In addition to these themes of human sexuality and ritual purity, the *Libellus Responsionum* also helps focus issues of episcopal power in relation to royal marriage at a crucial moment in early English history. These issues of episcopal authority relate to marriage, the appointment of bishops, and Roman practices. While the Old English translator's treatment of Gregory's reference to John the Baptist, mentioned above, remains suggestive, it is also possible to see the placement of the *Libellus Responsionum* in the *OEHE* as providing an important turning point in the text, one that looks forward and backwards, addressing issues as relevant to the late-ninth century as to the sixth and seventh centuries.[52]

By including Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum* in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bede appropriates both the authority of Gregory and the practical force of the letter. That is, he can describe the state and concerns of early Christianity in England, as well as interpolate Gregory's reinterpretation of Leviticus into his reading of English history as the history of a chosen people, thereby also presenting an interpretive precedent for recasting historical models. The repositioning of the *Libellus Responsionum* in the *OEHE* repeats Bede's move both materially and interpretatively. By moving the letter to the end of Book III, the translator of the *OEHE* reinserts the text into an account of the re-establishment of Christian order in England, an order which is grounded symbolically in Book III by the murder of King Sigeberht and materially in the manuscript by the apparent transgression of textual order.

Despite Bede's assertion of the success of Augustine's mission two books earlier, the re-establishment of Christian order in England in Books II and III involves multiple scenes of conversion that provide highly relevant contexts for the *Libellus Responsionum*. The apostasy of Edwin's successors, Eanfrith and Osric, followed by their defeat by Cædwalla, then Oswald's accession lead to the Christianization of Northumbria again. Although Oswald's invitation to

51 *OEHE*, *Libellus Responsionum*, pp. 78–9.
52 An earlier version of my discussion of Sigeberht appears in 'Shifting Contexts'.

Aidan introduces the influence of the Irish Church, by the end of Book III, the emphasis is clearly on the establishment of Roman practices in England through the teachings of Bishop Wilfrid. In addition, Pope Honorius sends Bishop Birinus into the furthest reaches of England,[53] while King Eorcenberht orders all idols to be overthrown and Lent practiced in Kent.[54] The apostate East Saxons return to Christianity under Bishop Cedd, who founds a monastery for them and who accommodates his teachings to the newness of their faith.[55] These conversions and firsts resonate with Gregory's and Augustine's emphasis on the new Christian order in the *Libellus Responsionum*, a 'newness' clearly as relevant to Book III as to Book I, a fact emphasized by the placement of the letter in the *OEHE*.[56]

The difficulty of getting the new teachings to take root and to overcome the marriage practices of the Germanic peoples manifests itself in the unfolding of the initially inexplicable death of Sigeberht, king of the East Saxons, at the hands of his kindred in *OEHE* III.16. When questioned, the men could only say that they did not know why they killed him, except that the king's willingness to show mercy to his enemies infuriated them.[57] The act of the kinsmen, however, turns out to be a just punishment: although Sigeberht's willingness to forgive his enemies marks how earnest he was in his conversion, we learn that he has nevertheless overlooked Bishop Cedd's instructions not to visit one of those same kinsmen, whom the bishop had excommunicated for unlawful marriage. Cedd had gone so far as to forbid contact with the kinsman, by ordering all who would listen not 'to enter his house or taste meat at his table' ('þæt heo in his hus ne eodon, ne of his swæsendum mete þege').[58] The king disregards the order and meets Cedd upon departing the house. Although the king falls to the ground at the bishop's feet, Cedd prophesies 'with episcopal authority' that the king will suffer death in the same house. Although Bede goes on to state his belief that the king's death would not only 'blot out' his sin, but increase his merits,[59] the king's refusal to heed the bishop leads to his death.

The illegal marriage of the kinsman most likely violated the strictures that Gregory lays out in his response to question five about the degrees of consanguinity in marriage. The *Libellus Responsionum* not only articulates the exclusionary practices that define the Christians as cultural group that Sigeberht and his kinsmen had recently joined, but also reflects the anxiety caused by crossing such cultural boundaries. As Mary Douglas points out, such practices become especially significant during periods of strife, as the

53 *OEHE* III.4, p. 166.
54 *OEHE* III.5, p. 172.
55 'heo lærde to healdanne regollices liifes þeodscipe, swa swiðe swa þa neowan Christnan þa get hit neoman meahton' (*OEHE* III.22 [16], p. 226).
56 In his first response, for example, Gregory points out that the English are but 'lately converted to the faith' (*HE* I.27, p. 81). Similarly, at the end of his eighth question, Augustine remarks that the English are still new in God's faith. *HE* I.27, *OEHE*, *Libellus Responsionum*, p. 74.
57 *OEHE* III.22 (16), pp. 228–9.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid.

integrity of the individual body reflects that of the social body.[60] Disregarding the bishop's warning leads to the death of the king of the East Saxons, indicating the divine sanction of episcopal over royal authority. Though the merciful king showed mercy, his 'soð syn' ('true sin') was his unwillingness to adhere to the rules of social order required by the Church.[61] The murder and regicide of this king constitutes a double transgression; Bede's explanation after the fact not only clarifies the kinsmen-murderers' ambiguous motives, but also allows for his specifically Christian interpretation to make sense of the confusion and betrayal. Bede subordinates the murder of the king to the new order of the Church, manifest in Cedd's accurate prophecy and authority over the king.

The placement of Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum* in the *OEHE* shifts the letter forward in history to the context of the mid- to late-seventh century, and marks both the similarity of the historical situations and the need for the re-establishment of proper social order. It is with this move that the *OEHE* reasserts the priority of Roman Catholic orthodoxy in the context of the historical context of the ninth century, which included repeated Danish attacks on England, King Alfred's older brother marrying his stepmother after his father's death in 858,[62] and the conditions which prompted Pope John's letter in 878 admonishing Archbishop Æthelred not to allow marriage within kindred and to 'observ[e] for ever by all orders, whether ecclesiastical or lay . . . the [statute] of the same St. Gregory'.[63] Just as the transgressive murder of King Sigeberht marks the re-establishment of Church authority in Book III, the transgression of textual order in the *OEHE* functions as a textual strategy asserting the higher authority of episcopal order at a different moment.

In fact, the establishment of a clearly Roman Catholic order with properly consecrated bishops becomes a dominant theme of the latter parts of Book III, where this issue is also bound up with kings' rights to appoint bishops – a tactic, along with marriage and baptismal sponsorship, that Anglo-Saxon kings used to serve their own interests. Wilfrid, the voice of the Roman party at the synod of Whitby, also becomes the voice of Roman Catholic order in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Because the *OEHE* omits Bede's account of the synod, the English focuses on Wilfrid's rights as bishop instead. In fact, although the *OEHE* notes that Wilfrid introduces many orthodox Roman practices to England, except for a passing reference to proper Easter observances, there are no specific doctrines or practices attached to his name in the vernacular version.[64] Instead, Wilfrid's career in the *OEHE* begins with Alhfrith sending him to be consecrated in Paris, where he lingers; in the meantime, Oswiu sends Chad to Kent to be consecrated bishop of York.[65] This move begins a conflict

60 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York, 1966), pp. 41–57 and 114–28.
61 *OEHE* III.22 [16], p. 228.
62 Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 245.
63 *English Historical Documents*, p. 813.
64 *OEHE* III.22 (16), p. 246.
65 *HE* III.28, p. 317.

over the diocese of Northumbria that extends through Book V, embroiling kings, Bishop Wilfrid and the pope in a protracted dispute about authority and landholdings, which Bede recapitulates at length in his Life of Wilfrid, V.19.[66] Like the representation of Wilfrid, the representation of Oswiu in the *OEHE* differs substantially from that presented in Bede's Latin, as I noted earlier in this chapter. Rather than being the Northumbrian king who brought resolution to the Easter controversy with the aid of Wilfrid, Oswiu is a king embroiled in long-term dynastic conflict. He is not only willing to murder his son-in-law, but also to manipulate Christian practices, including the appointment of bishops, to suit his own interests.[67] Although Oswiu founds monasteries and fosters Peada's conversion, the omissions from the *OEHE* render Oswiu's political manipulation of Christian practices and structures to his own advantage in sharper relief.

Ninth- to eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon readers may have read these episodes in the context of more recent history; after all, Alfred and his successors appropriated lands and estates from the Church for return to secular and military use. This practice of land appropriation continued across the tenth and eleventh centuries, roughly the period from which the copies of the *OEHE* survive.[68] Similarly, the appointment of bishops by kings remained a highly politically charged activity during the period and after, to the extent that Higham sees the 'fundamental sylloge between royal and episcopal interests as the driving force behind the English adoption of, and adaptation to, Christianity'.[69] While Oswiu's motives for appointing Chad remain unclear, his next move according to Bede is to join forces with Ecgbert of Kent in order to send Wigheard to Rome to be consecrated as archbishop of Canterbury. Wigheard's untimely death there creates an opportunity for Pope Vitalian to supply an outside candidate, Theodore of Tarsus – but Bede withholds that information until the beginning of Book IV, where Theodore's ability to act on his freedom from royal patronage becomes immediately apparent. Not only does he travel throughout all of the areas of Britain where the English had settled, but also – independent of any king – Theodore calls the synod of Hertford, bringing together bishops representing all regions of the island.[70] These events early in Book IV resonate with episcopal authority as grounded by the *Libellus Responsionum* in the *OEHE*.

Bringing Gregory's teaching into the context of the mid-seventh century recontextualizes his responses in such a way as to apply them to scenes of conversion beyond Æthelbert's court. It allows them to resonate across time and place. The move demonstrates the extent to which Gregory's words continue to be relevant, not only in the late-ninth or early-tenth-century context of the

66 *HE* V.19, pp. 516–31.
67 Colgrave and Mynors note that Oswiu's motivation for appointing Chad is unclear. They suggest that 'it may have been connected with his quarrel with his son Alhfrith, who was Wilfrid's patron', then point out the irregularities of Chad's appointment, later corrected by Theodore (*HE*, pp. 316–17, n. 2).
68 Blair, *The Church*, pp. 323–41.
69 Higham, *Convert Kings*, p. 10.
70 *HE* IV.2, and IV.5.

translation of the *OEHE*, but also through the period of the text's transmission. One need only consider the appointment of Bishop Leofric, who donated B to the library he founded in Exeter in 1072, to see how relationships between kings and bishops continued to affect early English culture. While scholars of Old English revere Leofric as a important book-collector, the monks he drove from the cathedral at Exeter when he moved his see there from Crediton and founded a community of secular canons may have thought of him, and of the *Rule of Chrodegang* (which he introduced to Exeter), somewhat differently – and so the story of Oswiu and Wilfrid, or the displacement of British practices for Roman ones, continued to echo in later Anglo-Saxon England.

To conclude, my reading of the Old English translator's treatment of the wives and daughters, such as Æthelburh, Eanflæd and Cyneburh, turns on rhetorical strategies rather than new historical evidence. But the scholarly dismissal of the *OEHE*'s treatment of the papal letters as inferior and erroneous has allowed papal authority and Bede's surface narrative to dominate the received account of the conversion of Anglo-Saxon England.[71] Rejecting the idea that the Old English translator's sense of documentary evidence was inferior to Bede's allows us to see how his strategies of translation and revision generate new meanings in the *OEHE*.

By repositioning the *Libellus Responsionum* at the end of Book III, Bede's main Old English translator uses Gregory's letter as a kind of capstone to wrap up his translation of the long, tumultuous era of conversion in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. As Æthelbert's own sons rejected Christianity, and conflicts between different kings and tribes forced some people into exile, others into submission (often symbolized by baptismal sponsorship), or marriage, placing the *Libellus Responsionum* after all of the English except the South Saxons and some of the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight have converted – and on the eve of Theodore's arrival – becomes a stroke of rhetorical genius. Gregory's final two responses reiterate the importance of marriage and childbirth in the Christian worldview. They reject the exclusion of women from church or prohibiting them from the sacraments because of childbirth or related issues of female sexuality. Not only have the believing wives consecrated the unbaptized sons, but Gregory has also articulated a view of female sexuality as part of the spectrum of humanity – fallen, but easily washed clean and as worthy to receive the sacraments as the priest in question nine can be washed and able to administer them. In the *OEHE*, Gregory's letter occupies a rhetorically different, yet powerful position, ending a book that contains numerous accounts of marriages, conversions, births and consecrations with a discussion of female sexuality as untainted and natural, merely symptomatic of the human condition as fallen, like hunger and thirst.

[71] Clearly, with the exceptions of the more recent inquiries into Bede's account of Augustine's mission I discuss in the previous chapter.

Summary of Relevant Marriages and Consecrations

Bertha: daughter of Charibert I, king of the Franks (561–7), m. Æthelbert, king of Kent (*c.* 585–616).

Æthelburh: daughter of Bertha and Æthelbert, m. Edwin, king of the Northumbrians (616–33).

Eanflæd: daughter of Edwin and Æthelburh; the first person baptized in Northumbria; consecrated to God by her father.

Cyneburh: daughter of Cynegils, king of the West Saxons (611–?642) m. Oswald, king of the Northumbrians (634–42).

Œthelwald: son of Oswald and Cyneburh, sub-king of Deira (651–*c.* 655).

Alhflæd: daughter of Oswiu, king of the Bernicians (642-) and of the Northumbrians (651–75), m. Peada, ruler of the Middle Angles and South Mercians (d.656), son of Penda, king of the Mercians, 626/632–55.

Ælfflæd: daughter of Oswiu, consecrated to God by her father.

Alhfrith: son of Oswiu, sub-king of Deira (*c.* 655– ?).

7

Visions of the Otherworld

Endings, Emplacement and Mutability in History

> Se ðe ne | wile cirican duru wilsumlice ge eadmoded | inganga se sceal nede in hell duru unwillsu(m)|lice . . .
>
> [He who will not go in the church door willingly humbled, he must by necessity in hell's door unwillingly . . .][1]

The final words of T break off mid-sentence at the bottom of folio 139v, as Bede's translator invokes 'þæt sume men wuniað cweðan' ('what some men are wont to say') to warn his audience about the price of refusing to lead a good Christian life. This episode, the story of a drunken brother in Bede's community, is both intensely personal – beginning with 'Ic seolfa cuðe sumne broðar' ('I myself knew a brother') – and eschatologically universal. It is the third of three chapters in a row in Book V that recount otherworldly visions.[2] The first is that of Dryhthelm, a Northumbrian thane who dies for a night, tours the Otherworld, then returns to his body to live out his life in strict penance; the second is the vision of a despairing Mercian thane, who is visited on his deathbed by angels and demons bearing books containing all his good and bad deeds; and the third is that of the drunken brother, who sees his place in hell before he dies in despair. These visions are anticipated, in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and two of the surviving manuscripts of the *OEHE* (T and B), by the visions of Fursey, an Irish missionary who founds a monastery in East Anglia. Fursey ascends to heaven, is put on trial and learns many secrets. As he returns to his body, the wall of flames kindled by human sin that forms a barrier between the heavens and earth in the vision burns his neck and jaw; his body carries the mark (Latin *signum*, Old English *tacen*) of what happened to his soul until his death.[3]

Despite the accidental ending in T, or perhaps because of it, the fate of

1 T139v/21–4; *OEHE* V.15, p. 442.

2 *OEHE* V.13–15, *HE* V.12–14; the numbers differ because the *OEHE* gives Willibrord and Swithbert their own chapter at V.12.

3 I discuss the visions in the *HE* and provide extensive bibliography on them in my 'The Role and Function of Otherworldly Visions in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*', in *The World of Travellers: Exploration and Imagination*, ed. Kees Dekker, Karen Olsen and Tette Hofstra, Mediaevalia Groningana n.s. 15 (Louvain, 2009), pp. 163–81. This chapter, which develops my thoughts in relation to these issues in the *OEHE*, has benefited tremendously from an ongoing conversation with Roy Liuzza. See Liuzza, 'The Tower of Babel'.

the drunken brother in the final vision remains clear. Although the loss of the end of the manuscript is a codicological accident, the coincidence of these endings calls attention to a complex set of questions relating to the construction of historical meaning, material textuality and mutability. In this context, mutability becomes a historical and literary topos of place, time and change, as well as a fact of material textuality. Although T breaks off, it nevertheless articulates the teleological shape of Christian history from Word to End; because it breaks off, T marks the fragility of manuscripts and the knowledge transmitted by them – a fragility at odds with idealized notions of the permanence of the written record. However, the final, incomplete threat in T resonates, not merely with the contents of the two previous apocalyptic chapters, but also the Christian promise of eternal joy (or, in this case, suffering) in the afterlife and the end of earthly mutability. In the contexts of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and *OEHE*, these visions go beyond didacticism: they provide eye-witness testimony confirming and authorizing the shape and truth of prophetic history, and they do so specifically in relation to English history.

The coincidence of 'endings' in Book V of T and the loss of Bede's account of the otherworldly vision of St. Fursey in III.19–20 from manuscripts C, O and Ca provide a rich, if somewhat ironic, context for an exploration of the ways in which the *OEHE* reshapes Bede's salvation history in the latter portion of the text. Significantly, the deliberate revisions to the latter books of the *OEHE* are fewer, and of a different nature from the changes to Books I–II. In Book IV, added chapter-breaks call attention to important figures and miracles in the early English Church. In Book V, the main translator omits Bede's extracts from Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*, which Bede uses to place Britain in relation to the Holy Land and Christian eternity in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and the omission of the final annalistic recapitulation, via which Bede encapsulates the arc of salvation history in brief. Without these passages, the *OEHE* uses the otherworldly journeys, which it transmits essentially *ad litteras*, to place Britain more emphatically in relation to heaven, hell and Christian eternity. The fact that Bede and his translators name or locate most of the otherworldly travelers and visionaries is distinctive, and serves to make the Otherworld a part of the history of early Anglo-Saxon England. If Britain is 'garsecges ealand' on the boundaries of the known world at the start of the *OEHE*, saints and visionaries like Fursey, Dryhthelm, the despairing thane and the drunken brother reveal its proximity to the Otherworld by the end of Book V.

Apocalypse and History

The historicity of the visions which Bede includes in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* has been called into question. For example, Richard K. Emmerson and Aron Gurevich agree that, as visions, 'they seem unconcerned with the movement of history or the future advent of Christ in judgment'.[4] As I discuss in 'The Role

4 Richard K. Emmerson, 'The Apocalypse in Medieval Culture', *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, 1992), pp. 293–332, at p. 296;

and Function of Otherworldly Journeys', however, Bede embeds this series of apocalyptic episodes into the larger structure of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, generating an Augustinian reading of history that insists not only on the reality of divine intention (and intervention), but also on the unknowability of the End. Having been accused of heresy over his calculation of the *annus mundi*, Bede steers clear of such sensitive issues in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, using individual revelations to represent judgment as ongoing in human time and as metaphors for final judgment. Although Bede's visions confirm the truth of the Christian world view in general, with eye-witness reports of angels, rewards, punishments and the geography of the afterlife, visionaries like Fursey and Dryhthelm return to their bodies with no guarantee of salvation. Consequently they become exemplars of fear and trembling in the face of eternity and judgment, as well as exemplars of the strictest and most ascetic of penances. Although Emmerson's and Gurevich's point that Bede's visions do not elicit a sense of the future advent of Christ is valid, these visions, as they appear in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *OEHE*, nevertheless remain firmly in the genre of 'apocalypse', and relate to history in terms of immanent judgment for individuals.

As Bernard McGinn points out, there is a distinction, from the earliest apocalyptic writings of Second Temple Judaism (which he describes as the 'mother' of Christianity), between apocalypse as revelatory literature, and apocalyptic eschatology as 'a particular view of history and its final events'.[5] As revelatory literature, McGinn explains, apocalypse presents 'a mediated revelation of heavenly secrets to a human sage', which may 'contain a variety of messages – cosmological, speculative, historical, eschatological and moral'.[6] Whether a human tours the Otherworld, or whether a celestial being visits earth to impart secret knowledge, such revelations focus on the fate of the individual soul and the revelation of cosmological secrets. McGinn stresses that such texts tend to be pseudonymous, 'mediated by an angelic figure', and textual; that is, 'part of a broad movement away from the word of God conveyed in oral proclamation and tradition and toward the word of God fixed in written texts'.[7] Although McGinn is specifically discussing early Jewish traditions here, the visions in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *OEHE* demonstrate two out of these three attributes.

Mediation and textuality play key roles in Bede's visions, but pseudonymity does not. The contrast between oral and written that McGinn articulates remains directly relevant to early Anglo-Saxon England. The recent arrival of literacy in Britain with Christianity, the transformation of traditions and the tensions between orality and literacy, secrecy and revelation in the visions themselves resonate with the historiographical and epistemological themes

Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, trans. Janos M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 104–52.

5 Bernard McGinn, 'John's Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality', in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, 1992), pp. 3–19, at p. 5.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid., p. 6.

embedded in the apocalyptic as a genre, and are clearly at work in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and *OEHE*. The books presented to the thane by the angels and demons, and the scriptural references placing the drunken brother in contrast to the protomartyr Stephen assert a specifically textual record and imagine a community capable of recognizing and interpreting such references. As McGinn suggests, this community is a learned elite – this despite the post-Enlightenment misconception that visions and miracles were Bede's concession to 'popular culture', a view which has, to some extent, changed.[8]

Finally, rather than presenting pseudonymous visions written in the name of biblical figures like Paul, Thomas or Nicodemus, Bede names his visionaries, placing them carefully in the historical moment and in identifiable places. He states not only where they were at the time of their visions, but often who their friends and associates were, and to whom they told their visions. Bede's naming of his sources is usually read as a sign of his careful attention to evidence. It is, clearly, but in the case of the visions, such naming also becomes a distinctive and powerful strategy for locating Britain and its inhabitants, specifically, within the Christian universe. Because Bede uses this strategy, his visions fall into a group with texts like the passion of Perpetua and the voyage of Brendan, rather than ones like Revelation or the *Visio Sancti Pauli*.[9] Visionaries are named, and experience their otherworldly journeys as a part of the course of their lives within human history. In the case of Dryhthelm, for example, Bede records that Æthelwold, 'now' bishop of Lindisfarne, had been Dryhthelm's abbot, and that he himself knew the drunken brother. By representing individual judgment as something that occurs in the here and the now of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bede uses those visions not only to exhort his readers, but also as an act of emplacement, orienting the Britain of living memory in relation to Christian eternity.

8 McGinn, 'John's Apocalypse', p. 6. The reading of the visions as popular culture is clearly indicated by Gurevich's title. I discuss this issue at length in 'Reading Miracles'. In order to defend Bede's status as a historian, late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century historians located dissonances between Bede the historian, Bede the theologian and Bede the hagiographer. As Bertram Colgrave puts it: 'there seems to be in Bede as in most of the doctors of the Church, as Delehaye points out, the voice of two men in each of them on the subject of miracles. Perhaps we ought to recognize three men in Bede, the theologian, the hagiographer, and the historian. To some extent the three were not altogether in harmony' (Bertram Colgrave, 'Bede's Miracle Stories', in *Bede: His Life, Times, and Writings: Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of his Death*, ed. A. H. Thompson (London, 1935), pp. 201–29, at p. 228). Similarly, Jones writes that Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* is 'fundamentally . . . a hagiography imposed upon the outline provided by a chronicle. . . . The separate "styles" of the two literary forms shine out from its pages' (C. W. Jones, 'Bede as Early Medieval Historian', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 4 (1946), 26–36, at p. 33). And yet again, in his preface to his edition of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Plummer asserts that 'the large majority of [miracles] may be set aside at once as being quite deficient in anything like contemporary evidence'. He then sets the rest of the miracles aside on 'internal evidence' as 'silly, unspiritual, or even positively immoral' (*Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, Oxford, 1896, I, p. lxiv). On the changing attitudes, see J. Davidse, 'On Bede as Christian Historian', in *Beda Venerabilis*, ed. Houwen and MacDonald, pp. 1–15; J. Picard, 'Bede, Adomnán, and the Writing of History', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 50–70; Rowley, 'Reassessing Exegetical Interpretations'.

9 Herbert Musurillo, 'Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis', in his *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford, 1972); *The Brendan Legend: Texts and Versions*, ed. Glyn S. Burgess and Clara Strijbosch (Leiden, 2006); *Visio Sancti Pauli*, ed. Theodore Silverstein, Studies and Documents 26 (London, 1935); Antonette di Paolo Healey, *The Old English Vision of St. Paul* (Toronto, 1978).

In this way, the visions become integral to the historiography of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and *OEHE*: they establish place and time self-consciously and authoritatively. If miracles in general establish the truth of divine intervention on this earth, Bede's miracles do so in Britain, specifically. The visions he records reiterate that truth, at the same time inscribing Britain into Christian cosmology and articulating the teleological structure through which history becomes meaningful in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and *OEHE*. The visionaries imitate, yet reverse, the incarnation and resurrection of Christ; they ascend to heaven, then return to earth, recapitulating the Word made flesh and (re) entering history. Although the prospect of returning to their human bodies fills Fursey and Dryhthelm with dread, it is only while embodied – returned to flesh and speech – that they can recount their visions as part of human history, some time in the 630s and 690s, in Ireland, East Anglia and Northumbria. The nameless thane of V.13, a favorite of King Cenred of Mercia, extends the interactive geography of Britain. These visions establish a new horizon, creating a perspective via which Bede positions Britain in the larger frames of the Christian universe and eternity.

Place and Placement

> The horizon is porous, its boundaries shifting, available to us across the span of centuries, and open to perception while in place.[10]

The cultural construction of place has become an increasingly active area of inquiry in medieval studies in the last two decades. Geographies, topographies and landscapes along with narrative descriptions of places, monuments and architecture in Old English poetry, prose, maps and drawings have captured the imaginations of a wide range of scholars in a variety of fields seeking to understand what Nicholas Howe and Martin Carver call the '"vocabulary" of the landscape' beyond and in dialogue with archaeology.[11] Although otherworldly visions proliferate in early English literature and have been the subject of extensive study in their own right, the ways in which otherworldly journeys inflect the imagined geographies and landscapes of the Anglo-Saxons, or contribute to the Anglo-Saxon understanding of their

[10] Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, *A Place to Believe In* (University Park, PA, 2006), p. 24.

[11] Nicholas Howe, quoting Martin Carver, in 'The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented, Imagined', in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, ed. John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Gainesville, FL, 2002), pp. 91–112, at p. 94; See also Nicholas Howe, 'An Angle on This Earth: Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England', T. Northcote Toller Memorial Lecture, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 82 (2000), 3–27; Nicholas Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography* (New Haven and London, 2008); Jennifer Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 27 (Cambridge and New York, 1999); Martin K. Foys, 'The Virtual Reality of the Anglo-Saxon Mappamundi', *Literature Compass* (2004) (online at: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1741-4113.2004.00016.x/full); Fred Orton, Ian Wood and Clare A. Lees, *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments* (Manchester, 2007); Jeremiah (Diarmuid) A. Scully, 'The Atlantic Archipelago from Antiquity to Bede: The Transformation of an Image', Ph.D. thesis, University College, Cork, National University of Ireland, 2000.

place in the cosmos have been insufficiently investigated. This may have to do with the fact that apocalyptic eschatology in general takes the end of history as its subject and remains deliberately enigmatic, but visions like those of Dryhthelm and Fursey occur in history. They directly affect human behavior and the ways in which the visionaries (and whoever may hear or read their visions) understand not only their place in this world, but this world's place. Sometimes, the retreats of these visionaries also take on new meaning as especially holy places in the Anglo-Saxon landscape.

As Nicholas Howe points out, the cultural construction of place can be interpreted historically as 'inherited, invented and imagined'. Inherited, because landscape 'always comes with a history attached to it'; invented, because of the ways in which humans 'order the natural terrain'; and imagined in relation 'to one's psychological and spiritual lives'.[12] Fabienne Michelet extends these ideas to demonstrate the ways in which narratives of creation, migration and conquest 'fuse temporal and spacial elements' in the service of power. They link place with identity in language and narrative, in such a way that

> Spatial organization supports territorial possession and self-definition; it is articulated in narratives which, looking to the past, justify the current spatial distribution or depict a lost ideal which in fact gestures toward a hoped-for, desirable state of the world.[13]

Maps, and the boundaries laid out in charters and treaties, form some of the most obvious examples of attempts to control space in ways linked to control, naming and identity, but salvation history also participates in this dynamic, because it justifies the possession of a place by a people who regard or describe themselves as 'chosen'. Michelet draws heavily on Howe's *Migration and Mythmaking*, as well as examples from Old English poetry, to show how these narratives manipulate space as a trope in the service of constructing identity and justifying territorial possession. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* forms one of Michelet's primary subjects; however, Michelet limits her discussion of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* to the *adventus Saxonum* and the conversion, that is, the past, the geography of this world and the early parts of the text. For Bede, however, who we must remember was a monk, exegete and Church historian, history always already includes the future promise: the lost ideal is, in fact, Eden, and the desired state is not 'England'; rather, it is, literally, heaven.

Bede's visions imagine and assert a new layer of geography in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, but not simply for the sake of describing the heavens as such. Bede uses these visions to extend his argument beyond the boundaries of this earth, because providential history extends beyond those bounds. As Diarmuid Scully puts it, Bede reads 'the archipelago's conversion [as] the fulfilment of scriptural commands and prophesies relating to the extension

12 Howe, 'Landscape', p. 91.

13 Fabienne L. Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest: Imaginary Geography and Sense of Space in Old English Literature* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 29–31.

of salvation to the gentiles at the ends of the earth and the universal mission of Christianity'.[14] The future irrupts into the past as warning and promise. Bede's visions bring past, present and future into direct dialogue, not only fusing history with prophesy, but also linking Northumbria, Mercia and East Anglia, specifically, with heaven and hell. These carefully placed accounts invite readers to identify with named and nameless visionaries of a variety of ranks, so that revelations of heaven reposition Britain in relation to Rome, the world and the cosmos. Similarly, revelations of reward and punishment plot the deeds of humans in this fallen world in a legible, and divinely ordained, Christian schema.

At the same time, however, it is important to note that the visions establish a contrast between the limits of human knowledge and the omniscience of the divine. Fursey and Dryhthelm return in fear, not knowing what their fate will be. And, although the books presented to the despairing thane assert the permanence of textual memory, the fragility and variability of material texts in this world – as evidenced by the eventful and incomplete manuscripts of the *OEHE* – participates in a dynamic of memory, loss and desire that, as Roy Liuzza puts it, 'is an expression of a certain anxiety over the possibility of recovering, recording and reclaiming the past'.[15]

The Vision of Fursey, Burgh Castle and Material History

Fursey both inherits and invents his place in East Anglia, now known as Burgh Castle, which becomes a nexus connecting Rome, Ireland and Britain, as well as past, present and future. As befits his status as a saint, Fursey mediates between heaven and earth. At the same time his vision makes history legible in terms of divine intention, his scar makes this interaction legible on his body as a truth and a warning. In the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and *OEHE*, the account of his life and visions becomes a central point, drawing together a variety of themes running through the texts, including mission, pilgrimage, monastic foundation, asceticism and the uncertain but imminent moment of judgment.

The *OEHE* follows its source closely in this section, and in the visions in Book V. This is a significant difference from earlier sections of the *OEHE*. Unlike the dramatic omissions from Book I of the *OEHE*, the deliberate interventions in Book III of the *OEHE* are the realignment of the *Libellus Responsionum* and the omission of Bede's account of the Synod of Whitby (III.25); the *OEHE* also omits III.4 and 26, which also address conflict between the Irish, British and Roman Easter. By omitting these, the *OEHE* reduces any tensions that may surround Fursey's Irishness in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. As discussed in Chapter 1, accidental losses and interventions also affect Book III, so that the alternate version of III.16–20 in Z omits Bede's account of Fursey. Otherwise, the *OEHE* follows Bede's Latin with its famously literal, often Latinate Old English. Because of these losses to Z, the presence and

14 Scully, 'Location and Occupation', p. 256.
15 Liuzza, 'The Tower of Babel', p. 5.

absence of Fursey's vision in Book III of the *OEHE* not only serves to evoke the 'sense of an ending'[16] and questions about the legibility of history in the middle, but also invites a discussion of continuity and loss in addition to that of place and the embodiment of history.

Bede's account of the vision shortens the *Transitus Beati Fursei* significantly, though he summarizes the key details.[17] But Bede relates Fursey's visions and travels out of order, beginning with the fourth vision according to the *Transitus Beati Fursei*.[18] By doing so, he places Fursey firmly in East Anglia before reporting the lengthy, dramatic vision at the end of which the visionary gets burned. Although the *Transitus Beati Fursei* also reports Fursey's travels to England and the Continent, it focuses on scriptural teachings and the advice given by heavenly sages. It emphasizes what Fursey learns, and conveys that information in detail to its audience, recounting the dialogues between Fursey, angels, demons and the holy men in heaven. Bede edits these materials actively; his focus is quite different. By naming Cnobheresburg (i.e., Burgh Castle) as the site of Fursey's monastery, Bede emphasizes the fact that Fursey was a historical missionary, builder and exemplar in England. In fact, this naming is Bede's only addition to Fursey's *Life* proper, and an important shred of information adding to the little we know about the Church in early Anglo-Saxon East Anglia.[19]

Although he was famous as a visionary and traveler to the Otherworld, Fursey proves to be surprisingly grounded in the historical record and material culture of this one. In addition to Bede's naming of his monastic site, further evidence from the anonymous *Transitus Beati Fursei* provides fragments of information beyond Bede on the state of Christianity in East Anglia during the early- and mid-seventh century.[20] Because of Fursey's fame and influence, an account of his brother, Foillon, also survived on the Continent. This text contains further historical information that enabled Dorothy Whitelock to reconstruct the attacks, probably by Penda and the Mercians, that caused Fursey to flee East Anglia after 641.[21] Such fragments of knowledge serve as reminders not only of the instability and warfare of seventh-century Britain, but also of the constant cultural contact between Ireland, Britain and the Continent – all of which become recurrent themes in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

Fursey's monastery becomes a nexus connecting Rome, Ireland and Anglo-

16 Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending* (Oxford, 1966; rpt. 2000).

17 *Transitus Beati Fursei: A Translation of the 8th Century Manuscript*, ed. Oliver Rackham (Norwich, 2007); M. P. Ciccarese, 'Le visioni di S. Fursa', *Romanobarbarica* 8 (1984–5), 231–303; *'Vita Sancti Fursei', Visioni dell'aldilà in occidente: fonti, modelli, testi*, ed. B. Luiselli and M. Silmonetti (Florence, 1987), pp. 190–559; *Vita Virtutesque Fursei Abbatis Latiniacensis*, ed. B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum 4 (Hanover, 1884), pp. 423–51.

18 *Transitus Beati Fursei*, p. 53.

19 *HE* III, 19, p. 270. There is some question about Burgh Castle being Fursey's site, but 'the weight of the evidence', as Michelle Brown puts it, 'points to Burgh Castle'. Michelle Brown, *The Life of St. Fursey: What we Know; Why it Matters*, Fursey Occasional Paper 1 (Norwich, 2001, rpt. 2003, 2007), p. 18.

20 Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Pre-Viking Age Church in East Anglia', *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972), 1–22, at p. 6.

21 Brown, *Life of St. Fursey*, p. 12; Whitelock, 'East Anglia', p. 6.

Saxon Britain, because the monastery he builds occupies the site of the late-third-century Roman fort, Garianno.[22] The fort (and its ruins, which are still standing), not only marks the landscape as inherited, but also marks both the larger arc of cultural continuity from Roman to Irish and Anglo-Saxon Christianity. It calls attention to some of the corresponding changes in material culture and practices, as well as historical change over time. The material evidence also speaks of innovation, appropriation and otherness, as well as continuity. The Anglo-Saxons built with wood and rarely used the same sites as the Romans. As David Wilson points out, 'in general the Anglo-Saxons avoided these [Roman] sites and developed their own settlements in rural surroundings'. However, he goes on to discuss how the Anglo-Saxons used some Roman sites for religious purposes: they reused the stones for building churches, and the sites as monastic ones.[23] Fursey's use of the Roman fort at Garianno seems to be the first documented as such. Colgrave and Mynors add Reculver (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 669), Othona (*HE* III.22), *Tunnacæstir* (*HE* IV.22), *Kælacæstir* (*HE* IV.23) to the list.[24] Fred Orton, Ian Wood and Clare Lees discuss the Roman fort at Bewcastle, where the famous Bewcastle monument 'was perhaps part of a deliberate appropriation and re-sanctification of a residual Romano-British cult site, *Fanum Cocidii*'.[25] Roman churches were also refurbished and materials re-used in Canterbury and Hexham.

Given the combination of avoiding, appropriating and recycling Roman sites, Sigeberht's choice to give Fursey the Burgh Castle location in particular conflates the otherness of the Irish Christian monk with the otherness of the Roman site (in terms of culture and architectural style). At the same time, the gift may indicate Sigeberht's recognition of the connection between the culture that built the fort and Fursey's religion, despite Bede's own insistence on the split between Irish and Roman Christianity. The *OEHE*, as we have seen, alters the polemics between Ireland and Rome as Bede presents them, which allows the text to emphasize Sigeberht's choice as an act marking continuity rather than otherness. King Anna, Bede tells us, later added to the site. Although Fursey's monastery is no longer visible, the round stone tower of an Anglo-Saxon church, possibly built by Cedd, still stands near the ruins of the fort.

So, as a place, Fursey's monastery gathered into a cultural and historical center, appropriating a Roman site and establishing a sacred Insular one where

22 Visitors to Burgh Castle now find some impressive standing (and nearly standing) ruins of Roman walls. Although evidence of Fursey's establishment is no longer visible to the casual eye, archaeologists have identified the space between the walls as one of substantial Anglo-Saxon activity. See: http://www.norfarchtrust.org.uk/burgh/index.htm. On the date and construction of the fort, see J. R. L. Allen and M. G. Fulford, 'Fort Building and Military Supply along Britain's Eastern Channel and North Sea Coasts: The Later Second and Third Centuries', *Britannia* 30 (1999), 163–84, at p. 164; see also John Cotterill, 'Saxon Raiding and the Role of the Late Roman Coastal Forts of Britain', *Britannia* 24 (1993), 227–39.

23 Some of the Roman stones and bricks were used to build fortifications as late as the eleventh century. David Mackenzie Wilson, *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 8.

24 *HE*, p. 270, n. 2.

25 Orton, Wood and Lees, *Fragments*, p. 29.

the layering of cultures created over time is still visible today. Similarly, Bede's account of the life of Fursey becomes a point of connection and transition in his *Historia*, both literally and thematically. Placed close to the middle of Book III, near the midpoint of the text as a whole, Bede's account of Fursey draws together themes of pilgrimage, mission, conversion, and judgment. He provides the first example of the *elþeodig* Irish missionaries, the *peregrini* discussed in Chapter 5. He not only travels from the west of Ireland to East Anglia, but also moves on to the Continent, foreshadowing the activity of later Anglo-Saxon missionaries like Willibrord in Book V. Fursey's vision also signals what is to come after this life. As the first and one of the most dramatic otherworldly visions in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and *OEHE*, it creates a proleptic pause in the middle of the *Historia*, reminding readers to 'continue to watch and pray and be not weary, because death was certain but the hour of death uncertain'.[26]

Paradoxically, then, Fursey's journey to the Otherworld establishes his place in the history of this one. Despite his desire for isolation, his fame and reputation give special significance to Burgh Castle as a place, drawing people to it, and inspiring written records of his life, as well as the life of his brother Foillon. But, Fursey's visions also demonstrate the continuity – in the medieval world view – between this world and the next, the permeability of the horizon. The angels instruct Fursey to look down, and he sees this world from his new vantage point, as a dark valley. For Bede, much of the significance of Fursey's visions as events also inheres in the fact that they occurred in the living history of early Anglo-Saxon England. Although Fursey is Irish, he builds his monastery at Cnobheresburg, having been admonished during a vision to 'maintain diligently the task he had undertaken of ministering the Word'.[27] The place has a special importance because it realizes a heavenly command in this world. In a sense, the monastery parallels Fursey's scar, which also materializes his heavenly experience in this world.

Importantly, despite everything else wondrous and otherworldly recounted in the vision, Bede saves the term *mirum* to describe Fursey's scar: 'mirumque in modum quid anima in occulto passa sit, caro palam praemonstrabat' ('and wondrous the manner in which what the soul suffered secretly openly foretold').[28] The scar becomes a special sign, clearly legible on his earthly body, impossibly, of his encounter with eternity. He receives the scar in transit back to earth, as he passes back through the flaming barrier. The devils push a burning soul out of the conflagration and onto his cheek and shoulder. Although the angels defend him, he recognizes the soul, and recalls that he had accepted the clothes of a man who had died in sin. Despite having been put on trial in heaven, this detail escapes Fursey and his angelic guides; Fursey returns to his body marked for the rest of his life by the burns. They become a hard reminder of an unrecognized or unacknowledged sin, and consequently of the need for utter vigilance and

[26] *HE* III.19, pp. 270–1.
[27] *HE* III.19, p. 271.
[28] *HE* III.19, p. 274, translation mine.

constant reflection.[29] If a person holy enough to be granted visions of the saints in heaven can remain unaware of or fail to repent for one of his own sins, this is a dire warning to all. The scar marks the immanence of judgment, and illustrates a profound sense of anxiety about the limits of human knowledge, and self-knowledge.[30]

Bede's use of 'praemonstrabat' to describe how the scar creates meaning on his body also signals the collapsing of time into eternity. Colgrave and Mynors translate the verb simply as 'showed', but it bears much more meaning. Because it is in the imperfect tense, it has the force of action ongoing in the past, yet the prefix 'prae-' also signals a sense of before. So the scar collapses time, it 'was showing beforehand', or 'was presaging' or even 'was prognosticating' what has and will happen to Fursey. The *OEHE* captures this wondrous sense of the future past, with the scar being:

> þæt tacen þære bærnnisse þæt he on his sawle aræfnde gesenelice eallum monnum in his sculdre ⁊ his ceacan on bær; ond wundorlice gemete þætte seo sawl in deagolnisse þrowiende wæs þæt se lichoma eawesclice foretacnode.
>
> [the sign of the burn that he suffered in his soul, he bore visibly to all men on his shoulder and on his cheek, and in wondrous manner, what the soul suffered in secret, was what the body clearly foretokened.][31]

The fact that the Old English usually translates deponent verbs with a present participle plus a form of 'to be' (i.e. 'þrowiende wæs') notwithstanding, Bede's translator seems to be trying to capture the future-past sense of 'praemonstrabat' with 'foretacnode', a verb that echoes nicely with 'tacen' from earlier in the passage, emphasizing the scar as sign, a mark from the past that becomes a sign of the future. It becomes proof, not only of Fursey's heavenly experience, but also of the truth of prophetic history, Christian cosmology and of human accountability within that framework.

Returning to Bede's treatment of his source, we can see that what Bede adds or removes allows him to focus his version on the visionary's life and deeds in England, including to whom he spoke and why. Although Fursey learns 'many things valuable both to himself and to those who might be willing to listen', and receives 'helpful advice as to what should be done for the salvation of those who repented in the hour of death', Bede never states what any of these things are. Instead, he recommends that his audience read the book of Fursey's life if they want to know more.[32] Bede adds that one of the older brothers in his own monastery knew a man who had 'seen Fursa himself', and described his physical penances. According to Bede's aged brother, Fursey's whole body became a sign of his fear and awe. Though the brother's acquaintance had

29 George Hardin Brown observed to me that Fursey should have known better than to accept the tainted clothing, given the 'hypersensitive monastic context'; personal correspondence, 4 December 2009.

30 See my 'Role and Function', pp. 181–2.

31 *OEHE* III.19 (14), p. 216, translation mine. The phrase 'wundorlice gemete' appears three times in the Corpus, all three in the *OEHE* translating Bede's 'mirum in modum'. The other instances are at III.14 p. 204/17 (Aidan) and IV.21, p. 322/9 (Æthelthryth), in Miller's edition.

32 *HE* III.19, pp. 273–5.

seen Fursey 'during a time of severe winter and a hard frost, and though Furs[ey] sat wearing only a thin garment . . . he sweated as though it were the middle of the summer, either because of the terror or else the joy which his recollections aroused'.[33] Certainly, Bede's reference to the knowledge of an aged brother in his own monastery adds weight to the truth value of the account, but Bede himself never calls attention to that aspect; rather, he calls attention to the fact that Fursey was accessible in the land of the East Angles within living history. The details of the geography of the heavens, the helpful advice and the many valuable things Fursey learns are, of course, important, but Fursey's example in history, his penance, preaching, and especially the scar, are what Bede emphasizes as he draws his account of Fursey to a close.

The *OEHE* follows Bede's account of Fursey closely, omitting only Bede's second reference to the book of Fursey's life. One alteration in reference to Bede's aged brother is that instead of 'Superest adhuc frater quidam senior monasterii nostri, qui narrare solet dixisse sibi quendam multum ueracem ac religiosum hominem . . .' ('An aged brother is still living in our monastery who is wont to relate that a most truthful and pious man told him . . .'), the *OEHE* reads: 'is nu gýta su(m) |eald broðor lifiende úres mynstres se me sæde | ⁊ cwæð se ðe þas boc wrat þ(æt) him sæde sum æfæst |mann ⁊ geþungen' ('(There) is now still an old brother living in our monastery who told me, . . . says he who wrote this book, that a pious and virtuous man told him . . .').[34] On the one hand, the translator of the *OEHE* distances himself from Bede with, '⁊ cwæð se ðe þas boc wrat'. On the other hand, the translator also personalizes the account, by changing Bede's infinitival construction 'frater . . . senior . . . narrare solet' to a subject–object–verb construction with two personal pronouns: 'se me sæde'.[35] With the shift from an impersonal infinitive to a direct personal construction, the translator captures Bede's sense that Fursey was a part of living history for Bede himself.

In the *OEHE* manuscripts where the episode survives, the account of Fursey remains as literally and thematically central as it does in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, fostering the same sense of cultural interaction, presenting a reminder of immanent judgment in the context of the past, and foreshadowing the work of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the Continent in Book V. In addition, however, the destruction of Fursey's monastery by heathen invaders becomes an unexpectedly new moment of foreshadowing. For audiences after 793 and 865, Fursey's flight from heathen invaders may have served as a reminder of more recent invasions. They mark the constant transience and instability of this world, the passage of time itself inflects the text in a way that renders Fursey's message of constant vigilance all the more cogent. For medieval readers of the *OEHE* manuscripts missing this chapter, the message and foreshadowing disappear from the text as thoroughly as the signs of Fursey's monastery have vanished from plain sight at Burgh Castle.

33 *HE* III.19, p. 275.

34 B172/11–14, B's reading is closer to the *HE* in this passage, T omits 'geþungen'; *OEHE*, p. 216/23.

35 The object often precedes the verb in Old English prose.

The Roman influence remains visible in East Anglia, but not the Irish, and the burden of revealing the prophetic history of Christian eternity in living Anglo-Saxon history falls on the visions in Book V.

The Visions of Book V

The three visions in *Historia Ecclesiastica* V.12–14 and *OEHE* V.13–15 develop this emphasis on the active connection between this world and the next in history via naming and placing, as well as the immanence of individual judgment. These three carefully paced visions combine to mark the very close proximity of the Otherworld, at the same time forming an emphatic call to penance. They reach out beyond the monastic and saintly community, and differ in tone, quality and symbolism from the several brief, comforting visions of Books IV and V. For example, Chad is visited by angels who tell him that they will return in seven days to take him to heaven, and Abbess Æthelburh returns from heaven to explain to her sister Torhtgyth when she would be freed from her earthly suffering. Because of Cædmon's peaceful preparation for death, Bede suggests 'it would seem that he had foreknowledge of his death'. Finally, Bishop Wilfrid also has a vision of the archangel Michael telling him that he will die 'in peace and quiet'.[36] The permeability of the boundary between this world and the next in Books IV and V is abundantly clear. In recording the series at V.13–15, the *OEHE* follows its source carefully and closely. Both Bede and his translator present visionaries of different ranks, and sometimes manipulate or delay naming to enhance readerly identification. Although strategies that build such identification serve a pointedly didactic function, they also deepen the sense that these visions of and journeys to the Otherworld are part of the living history of Anglo-Saxon England.

By placing these visions in Books IV–V, Bede seeks to present as full an account of the trajectory of salvation history as possible, reflecting Britain's place in the universal Christian mission. Just as he connects Britain to Rome in Books I and II, he connects the island to the Continent via Anglo-Saxon missionaries, and the Holy Land in Book V, by including excerpts from Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*. In this context, the otherworldly journeys in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* function along with these other accounts of travel and mission, linking Britain to the cosmos as well as to the Holy Land. Leading up to this, Books III–IV finalize the conversion and record the lives and acts of important English saints, like Æthelthryth and Cuthbert, as well as the careers of important figures like Hild and Cædmon, among others. It is important to note that these later books of the *OEHE* contain far fewer deliberate omissions and different kinds of intervention – although, as I

[36] *HE* IV.3, p. 343; IV.9, pp. 362–3; IV.24, p. 421; V.19, pp. 527–9. These visits seem to play out according to rank and gender, Wilfrid's visit by the archangel contrasts with Torthgyth's visit from her saintly abbess. Bede's account of Cædmon's death bears only the slight suggestion of heavenly comfort. Cædmon, of course, had been a cowherd before being miraculously granted the gift of song and joining Hild's monastery.

have noted, accidental losses affect Books III and V, but the translator's treatment of Book IV is unusually expansive. After conversion is complete and apostasy ended, the *OEHE* signals this with the replacement of the *Libellus Responsionum*. Book IV develops the sanctity of the island and its inhabitants. The translator of the *OEHE* removes only one chapter, Bede's acrostic poem in honor of Æthelthryth.[37] Rather than removing materials, Bede's translator creates multiple new chapters in order to call special attention to certain events, such as the miracles and visions of the nuns at Barking, the death of Ecgbert, or the bishops of Northumbria and the East Angles.[38] With the exception of the added chapter-breaks, Book IV of the *OEHE* follows its source closely, and sometimes brilliantly, as Donald Fry and Virginia Blanton have demonstrated.[39] In many ways, Book IV is the success story of the Church in England, with the English saints and miracles far outweighing the problems, like the monastery at Coldingham, which gets its just desserts.

Book V of the *OEHE* also follows its source closely and literally, cutting only the excerpts from Adomnán and Bede's chronicle summary from the very end. The excerpts from Adomnán, which immediately follow the three visions in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, resituate Britain in relation to the sacred geography of this world, and mark the location of Christ's final footsteps as the place of departure from this world.[40] Without these, the *OEHE* focuses on the increasingly close connection between Britain and the Otherworld in the series of three visions, emphasizing that the point of departure is here and now. Similarly, without the final chronicle walking back through the whole procession of history, the *OEHE* looks forward rather than back, allowing the uncertain times of the early-eighth century as recorded by Bede to reiterate the uncertainty of the future and heighten the effect of the otherworldly visions. Given the way the *OEHE* reshapes the symbolism of salvation history in Book I, and in light of its less pejorative presentation of the Britons, the force of the visions in Book V of the translation combines with the invective against the Britons because they hold themselves separate from the universal Church, emphasizing immanence, and the relationship between individual and corporate salvation, irrespective of any notions of proto-nationality or hegemony. Consequently, in Book V of the *OEHE*, the divine irrupts into early England. As it does, it suggests the fulfillment of the promise is immanent.

This becomes especially clear in the way the translator handles Bede's first-person authorial voice in the third vision of Book V. In contrast to the translator's invocation of '⁊ cwæð se ðe þas boc wrat' ('and he who wrote this book says') in relation to Bede's account of Fursey, he translates Bede's

[37] See Paul E. Szarmach, 'The "Poetic Turn of Mind" of the Translator of the Old English Bede', in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. S. Keynes and A. Smyth (Dublin, 2006), pp. 54–68.

[38] See the tables of chapter-breaks in Appendix I.

[39] Donald Fry, 'Bede Fortunate in his Translators: The Barking Nuns', in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1986), pp. 345–62; Virginia Blanton, *Signs of Devotion: The Cult of St. Æthelthryth in Medieval England, 695–1615* (University Park, PA, 2007), p. 43.

[40] *HE* V.17, pp. 510–11.

use of the first person in V.15, the story of the drunken brother, verbatim. He inhabits Bede's first-person voice in the present tense. For 'noui autem ipse fratrem, quem utinam non nossem (cuius etiam nomen si hoc aliquid prodesset, dicere possem)', ('I myself knew a brother, and I would that I had not known him, whose name I could mention if it were any use'), the translator gives: 'ic seolfa cuðe sumne broðar, ðone ic wold ðæt ic næfre cuðe, ðæs noman ic eac swylce genemnan mæg, gif ðæt owiht bryciæ' ('I myself knew a brother, who I would that I never knew, whose name I also might name, if that would benefit anybody').[41] With such a translation, he pulls the final vision forward, rendering it in the present of the text, and bringing the window into hell that opens up before the drunken brother on his deathbed into the living history of the Old English translation.

Dryhthelm

Bede and his translator frame Dryhthelm's vision with the names of places and witnesses, and deploy the details of Dryhthelm's vision in such a way as to emphasize his place in, and impact on, this world. They begin by connecting the old and the new in memory: 'Đassum tidum gemyndelic wundar ⁊ ealdum wundrum geliic in Breotene wæs geworden' ('At this time a memorable miracle, like to the miracles of old, occurred in Britain').[42] This is a miracle like those of old, but it happens 'at this time', specifically, 'in Britain'. More specifically, it happens in the Cunningham district, then a part of Northumbria, to the pious head of a household, Dryhthelm, whose name Bede does not reveal until the end of his account. The action of the episode begins with Dryhthelm waking up and frightening all those who were holding vigil over his dead body. They all run away, except for his wife. This is a striking moment of presence in this world; Dryhthelm literally 'wakes up' to reality, according to medieval Christian ideology, in that he turns away from this unimportant world, even from the wife who loves him greatly.

Dryhthelm prays, divides his belongings, then retires to the monastery of Melrose, which Bede and his translator describe as almost encircled by the River Tweed. In the *OEHE*, it is 'of ðem mestan dæle mid ymbebegnesse Tuede streames betyned' ('for the most part enclosed by a bending-around of the River Tweed').[43] 'Ymbebegnesse' here is a *hapax legomenon* translating Bede's *circumflexu*. The *begnes* component of the compound (with an Anglian 'e' spelling), meaning a bending, flexing or reflection, is related both to *bigan*, which means 'to bend, bow' but can also mean 'to translate' or 'to convert', and to *gebigednes*, a word Ælfric uses often to refer to grammatical cases and inflections. Manuscripts O and Ca give the 'i' spelling. The river encircles the

41 *HE* V.14, pp. 502–3; *OEHE* V.15, pp. 442–3. The translators use a variety of translation strategies when confronted with first-person constructions and direct discourse. I deal with this in detail in my '"Ic Beda . . . cwæð Beda"'.

42 *OEHE* V.12, pp. 422–3.

43 *HE* V.12, pp. 488–9; *OEHE* V.13, pp. 424–5. *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, s.v. 'bignes'.

monastery, bowing to and reflecting divine will as it demarcates sacred space.

After entering the monastery, Dryhthelm retreats even further, to a hermitage, where his neighboring hermit, Hamgels, and King Aldfrith visited him and heard his story. At the end of the chapter, Bede also informs his readers that Æthelwold, who would become bishop of Lindisfarne in 721, was abbot at Melrose at the time. While these names serve to enhance the truth-value of the account, they also create a frame that grounds Dryhthelm in Northumbrian history. This frame begins with places and ends with names. Just as Bede waits to name Dryhthelm, he waits to name Æthelwold as abbot of Melrose. Bede names the monastery at the beginning of the account, then closes by reporting that Æthelwold, 'nunc episcopalem Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae cathedram condignis gradu actibus seruat' ('now rules over the episcopal see of Lindisfarne and his deeds are worth of his rank').[44] In the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Æthelwold brings Dryhthelm into living history. The *OEHE* uses 'efter ðon' ('after that') to describe Æthelwold's episcopacy at Lindisfarne, placing him in the indeterminate past. Like the accounts of Fursey, this chapter closes in both texts with descriptions of Dryhthelm's extreme physical penance and the example he sets for other people – until, in the *OEHE*, the coming of 'his gecænenisse of middangearde' ('his summons from earth'). Here, the *OEHE* adapts Bede's account, in which Dryhthelm is merely called away, to emphasize his leaving the earth.[45] While these may not be the most striking aspects of Dryhthelm's story, the frame – from his sudden awakening from the dead in Cunningham to his calling from 'middangearde' – surrounds him with Northumbrian people and within the 'ymbebegnesse' of the river Tweed and the landscape of the island.

Bede and the translator of the *OEHE* also frame the vision with careful attention to his impact in this world, via his behavior and words. In each version, this episode ends by reiterating the importance of Dryhthelm's example. According to Bede, 'multisque et uerbo et conuersatione saluti fuit' ('and led many to salvation by his words and life'). The *OEHE* follows this closely, with '⁊ he monegum mannum ge in wordum ge onhis lifes bisene on hælo wæs' ('and he, by his words and the example of his life, was the means of salvation to many').[46] The next chapter opens by reiterating the importance of Dryhthelm's words and deeds: 'On geæng þissum spelle wæs sum mon in Mercna londe, þæs gesihðe ⁊ word, nales his drohtung ⁊ his lif, monegum monna ne eac him seolfum brycsade' ('As a contrast to this story, there was a man in the land of Mercia, whose vision and words, but not his conduct and his life, profited many, but not himself').[47] Clearly, the didactic messages of the visions are crucial, but Bede also places these interlocking chapters precisely within the geography and living history of England. The translator of the *OEHE* follows him very closely; these are not biblical characters from long

44 *HE* V.12, pp. 496–7.

45 *OEHE* V.13, p. 436, *HE* V.12, p. 498.

46 *HE* V.12, pp. 498–9; *OEHE* V.13, pp. 436–7.

47 *HE* V.12, pp. 498–9: 'At contra fuit quidam in prouincia Merciorum cuius uisiones ac uerba, non autem et conuersatio, plurimus, sed non sibemet ipsi, profuit'.

ago and far away, they are in Britain, marking the island's place in prophetic history. A brief examination of the very different way that Ælfric of Eynsham frames his translations of Dryhthelm and Fursey's visions makes the emphasis on English history in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and *OEHE* all the more striking.

Ælfric also translates the *Transitus Beati Fursei* and the Vision of Dryhthelm in his *Catholic Homilies*. He does so to counter the popularity of the apocryphal *Visio Sancti Pauli*.[48] His introductions and conclusions emphasize that Fursey and Dryhthelm reported their visions, whereas Paul did not.[49] Although we know Ælfric had access to both the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *OEHE*, he used the *Transitus Beati Fursei*, rather than Bede's version of Fursey's vision, and includes many of the details that Bede does not include. Ælfric also emphasizes that the angels command Fursey to 'soðlice cyð þine gesihðe on middanearde' ('truly reveal his vision on earth'). As soon as he wakes up, 'he gesæt ða and sæde be endebyrdnesse ealle his gesyhðe' ('he sat then and told all of his vision in order').[50] In contrast, in Bede's version, Fursey is reticent about revealing his vision. While he preaches to and provides an example for all men, 'he would only give an account of his visions to those who questioned him about them, because they desired to repent'. The *OEHE* expands to 'þæm mannum anum hit cyþan ⁊ secgan wolde, þa ðe hine frugnon ⁊ ahsodon fore þæm luste inbryrdnisse ⁊heofona rices lufe' ('he would reveal and relate only to those who asked and questioned him for the sake of devotion and the love of the heavenly kingdom').[51] In the *OEHE* and the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the visionaries exemplify virtuous living to all; they reveal their secrets to a few, earnest listeners – until Bede himself publishes them for all to read, at which point Bede's descriptions of the visionaries' discernment serve to enhance the weight of their (and, consequently, his) words.

Ælfric mentions place only in a limited, offhand manner in these visions. While Ælfric mentions that Fursey travels throughout England and Ireland, then goes to Francia, he does so toward the end. He omits the location of Burgh Castle, and makes no effort to create a network of people connecting the visionary to living or specifically English history. Similarly, Ælfric's version of Dryhthelm's vision also focuses on his revelation, his active telling of his experience in the Otherworld in contrast to Paul's deliberate silence. It does, however, come a little closer to Bede even as it falsifies a detail: Ælfric says that Dryhthelm joins Melrose under Æthelwold, but that he told his vision to King Alfred – tapping into the authority of a more recent king. The *Historia Ecclesiastica* and every surviving manuscript of the *OEHE* state that Dryhthelm told his vision to Aldfrith, not Alfred. The fact that Ælfric introduces this

48 As Allen Frantzen has recently pointed out, the 'popularity' in question here includes the ecclesiastical intelligentsia responsible for the dissemination of the text, not merely the common folk. 'Response' to the papers in the session, 'Beyond Bede II: Later Anglo-Saxon England', at the 45th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI, 2010.

49 Ælfric, 'Item in Letania Maiore. Feria Tertia', and 'Alio Visio', in *Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, pp. 190–203.

50 Ælfric, ibid., pp. 195 and 197.

51 *HE* III.19, p. 275; *OEHE* III.19, pp. 216–17.

change here seems to me to underscore the unreliability of his attribution of the *OEHE* as a translation to King Alfred. Bede's account is the earliest and most authoritative version of this vision; we know it is Ælfric's source because he tells us it is. While all three versions are clearly didactic, reveal secret knowledge and emphasize the immanence of individual judgment, Ælfric's changing of the frames reads the visions through a different lens, with a different emphasis. Bede and the translator of the *OEHE* engage textual strategies that focus on prophetic history and the place of the visionaries in Britain, whereas Ælfric seeks to counter an unauthorized vision with two authorized ones. He uses the *Transitus Beati Fursei* and adapts the characterization of Bede's reticent visionaries to suit his own rhetorical and homiletic needs.

Ælfric also omits the endless wall that Dryhthelm encounters in Bede's account of his vision. While Ælfric includes many of the other details – angels, demons, ice and fire – his emphasis on the telling of the vision renders Bede's striking image of the endless wall with no stairs, windows or doors disposable to him.[52] Because the *OEHE* follows Bede's Latin literally throughout the visions in Book V, the wall retains its place in the geography of the Christian cosmos. It also retains its metaphorical function as a sign of the human need for divine grace in the *OEHE*. At first, the wall seems utterly impenetrable to Dryhthelm. The barrier between heaven and hell, it is also like the boundary between this world and the next. Dryhthelm needs the help, authority and knowledge of his guide to understand the landscapes he tours, and returns to this world certain only of his fear and how little he knows.

Whereas Fursey looks down on the earth only to see a dark valley, Dryhthelm is never given the opportunity to orient himself directly in relation to the earth. Rather, he reports traveling toward the 'north-east corner of the heavens, where the sun rises at midsummer', at least as it seems to him.[53] But he is wrong about almost everything he thinks in this vision, as his guide repeatedly tells him. At first, Dryhthelm sees no point in approaching the wall, and – wrong again – he suddenly finds himself on top of it. I read the wall as a part of a symbolic geography grounded in the Augustinian doctrine of grace, which complicates prophetic history by limiting the efficacy of human action alone.[54] Like Fursey's scar, the wall becomes a sign of the anxiety of history, the horizon as obstacle. The fact that Dryhthelm's guide transports him to the top of the wall and provides him with limited knowledge about what he has seen offers some comfort, like the vision itself. But Dryhthelm, like Fursey, returns to his body with dread, and lives out his life performing harsh physical penance. He plunges himself in the icy River Tweed up to his neck in imitation of the proto-purgatorial torments he saw in his vision and engages in constant prayer.

52 In Ælfric's version, the guide simply leads Dryhthelm to a heavenly city ('byrig'), p. 201.

53 St. John D. Seymour analyzes the directions and zones in the vision in relation to other early visions. St. John Seymour, 'Studies in the Vision of Tundal', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 37 C (1926), 154–63, 'Notes on Apocrypha in Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 37C (1926), 108; and 'The Eschatology of the Early Irish Church', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (1923), 196, 205–10.

54 See my 'Role and Function', pp. 180ff.

Although he bears no scar, Dryhthelm's penance inscribes his experience of the Otherworld, and his fear, in this one. He embodies the message in legible actions that become examples to all. As he bends the river that encircles his hermitage to his own service, Dryhthelm also engages the geography of this world in imitation of the geography he saw in the Otherworld. The river, 'mid ymbebegnesse', creates a place for reflection and change. After all, the first thing Dryhthelm tells his wife when he awakens dead is that 'from this time on I must live very differently'.[55] Like Fursey's vision, Dryhthelm's vision reveals some of the secrets of the Otherworld, but also like Fursey's vision, Dryhthelm's evokes a high levels of anxiety and uncertainty. Neither returns with any unambiguous assurance of salvation. In the case of Dryhthelm, however, Bede and his translator use a variety of tactics to encourage their audiences to identify with the visionary, to share his disorientation and fear while touring the Otherworld.

An unknown householder until Bede names him at the end of the account, Dryhthelm functions rather like a Northumbrian 'Everyman'. Bede and his translator create suspense and provide frightening details by recording the vision from Dryhthelm's limited perspective. Approaching hell, Dryhthelm is surrounded by smoke and fire on one side, ice and snow on the other. Souls in torment leap from one side to the other; he thinks he is in hell, but his guide assures him he thinks wrongly. The guide leads him to a darker, more frightening and sulphurous place then leaves him. Dryhthelm is unable to discern the laughter of the demons from shrieks of the suffering. The demons come at him with their tongs, but he is rescued at the last moment by the return of his guide like a shining star, who then takes him back. After confronting the endless wall, the guide shows him bright blissful souls; he believes he is in heaven, but his guide assures him he is not. After leading him to a place of even greater brightness, then back, the guide asks Dryhthelm if he knows what he saw. Dryhthelm confesses his ignorance, at which point the guide explains the purgatory-like function of the areas he saw, and that he only glimpsed the mouth of hell and brightness of heaven. Bede and his translator lay out all of the engaging detail of this episode from Dryhthelm's human, layman's point of view. Identification builds as audiences encounter his fear and wonderment, as well as constant incorrect suppositions and the suspense of the guide's enigmatic answers: 'no, this is not hell as you think'. Bede and his translator consistently offset the revelation of secrets with the reminder of the limits of human knowledge, and exhortation to penance.

Bede and his translator invoke the terms *mirum* and *wundor* again at the close of their accounts, referring to Dryhthelm's physical penance, naming him, and bringing his impact on the men who know him to the fore. When others see him plunge into the river, they exclaim: '"hwæt, þæt is wundor, broðor Dryhthelm" – wæs ðæt þæs weres nama – "þæt ðu swa micle reðnesse celes ænge rehte aræfnan meaht"' ('"well, that is a wonder, brother Dryhthelm"

55 *OEHE* V.13, p. 425.

– this was the man's name – "that you can at all endure such great severity of cold"').[56] Revealing Dryhthelm's name in the form of an exclamation of wonder, and in the voice of the men who question him about the severity of his penance asserts Dryhthelm's identity in place among men. Dryhthelm's reply, 'Caldran ic geseah' ('I have seen it colder'), imitates (to an extent) the curt replies of his heavenly guide, 'Nis ðis . . . heofona rice, swa swa ðu talest ⁊wenest' ('this is not . . . the kingdom of heaven as you conclude and imagine').[57]

The guide who protects Dryhthelm exemplifies divine authority, while Dryhthelm, in his ignorance, disorientation and fear exemplifies the human condition. Although Dryhthelm also becomes a mediator, bringing his experience and example to Melrose, the fact that the guide repeatedly reads and corrects Dryhthelm's thoughts, then explains everything that Dryhthelm did not understand, directly contrasts divine authority and knowledge with human ignorance and need for guidance. These contrasts, along with the contrasts between heaven and hell, light and darkness, angels and devils play out through the next two visions. The scenes and mediators, however, shift. As the episodes move from the Otherworld to this world, the arrival of angels and devils in Mercia, and the opening into hell witnessed by the drunken brother stress not only those contrasts, but also the permeability of the boundaries between the living history of Bede's *Britannia*, heaven and hell.

The Despairing Thane and the Drunken Brother

As I note above, Bede and his Old English translator create an interlocking structure connecting Dryhthelm's vision with the account of the despairing Mercian thane by directly contrasting their behavior, and whom that behavior does or does not benefit. The account of the Mercian thane, which provides a negative example develops themes from both Dryhthelm and Fursey's visions, especially those of authority and accountability. In this case, authority comes in the written form of books, though judgment is also inscribed on the body of the thane.

Unlike Dryhthelm and Fursey, who leave their bodies and visit the Otherworld, the despairing thane stays home in bed. In this short and striking episode, he receives a series of visits: from King Cenred, his wise and loving king who admonishes him to repent; from a pair of angels with a tiny, beautiful book recording his good deeds; and finally from a host of devils, bearing a horrible, large book recording his wicked deeds. The framing of his episode also involves naming and placing. Bede opens his account by telling us that the thane was beloved of King Cenred, who succeeds Æthelred in Mercia. At the close of the account, Bede reports that he learned of this encounter from Pehthelm. According to Colgrave and Mynors, Pehthelm was the first bishop of Whithorn, *c.* 731–5, placing the experience of the despairing thane firmly in the living history of Bede's day.

56 *OEHE* V.13, pp. 436–7.
57 *OEHE* V.13, pp. 436 and 430.

The didactic force of this episode is simple and clear; the books, however, add an important textual and authoritative element. Unlike the comforting, informative aural visits that Chad, Wilfrid, Torhtgyth and (possibly) Cædmon experience, the despairing thane's history comes in the form of books. On the one hand, the fact that the angels and devils present the books to the thane so that he can read the record of his deeds suggests his literacy. On the other hand, the appearance of the books requires no actual reading. One is as beautiful and small as the thane's good deeds, and the other as huge and hideous – down to the contorted and blotted handwriting – as his many bad ones. The images of the books, then, literalize and represent the record of his life. Just as the emphasis on accountability recalls Fursey's trial and unwitting sin, the apparent weight of the written record seems to obviate the necessity of any trial or second chance, but this is the trick of the episode, the counter-intuitive power of both grace and authority, which inheres as much in the mediating figure of the king as in the books, angels and devils.

The thane is no more able to read the real significance of books than Dryhthelm is able to understand what is happening to him. Cenred, being wise, pleads with him to repent. The thane, fearing to seem cowardly, refuses. During Cenred's final admonishing visit, the thane reports the visitation and that he is in 'ða wyrrestan ingewitnesse' ('the most dreadful consciousness'), because he has seen the books and, he believes, understood them. He despaired, and the devils struck him with 'handseaxes' ('daggers') on his head and feet.[58] The knives work their way through his body as he tells Cenred what happened to him, and he dies in despair. Bede and his translator comment extensively on the thane's refusal to repent, contrasting the brevity of necessary penance with the eternity of torture. They return to the contrast of the books, and the thane's failure to counterbalance his wicked deeds with good ones, but the penitential force of this series of three visions, which mark the immanence of the Otherworld and individual judgment, suggests that repentance could have extricated him from damnation, despite the contrast of the books and the capitulation of the angels; after all, the thane refused to speak up. Bede and his translator admonish their readers directly, stating that they include the story 'ic hit for þære hælo, ðe hit leornade oðþe geherde, hluttorlice awrat ⁊ sægde' ('I have written and said it clearly for the salvation of those who should read or hear it').[59] Having already read the accounts of Dryhthelm and Fursey, the example of proper action is clear.

The exhortation continues, linking the third vision closely to those that precede it and bringing the place and time into the here and now of Bede's own life, in Northumbria. The account of the drunken brother reiterates both error and admonition. If Pehthelm brought Cenred and his thane close to Bede, Bede's own acquaintance with the drunken brother makes this third vision, which is also the shortest, the most personal. Hell is also closest in it, as the drunken brother, a skilled smith, sees hell gape 'on Beornica mægðe',

[58] I discuss this scene in the *HE* in more detail in 'Role and Function', pp. 170–2.

[59] *OEHE* V.14, p. 442. *HE* V.13, pp. 502–3.

that is, in Bernicia, in Bede's Northumbria. Both Bede and his translator stress their wish that reading about the drunken brother's perdition becomes the salvation of their audiences, 'þæt ic eac swylce wisce forð swa on leornunge ura stafa' ('which I also wish from this time forth from the reading of our letters').[60] Interestingly, aurality slips away, as mediation diminishes; this third account is the most direct, a part of Bede's own experience, and the most emphatically written in his own letters.

Unlike Revelation, or the visions of Paul and Nicodemus, all of which were known in Anglo-Saxon England, Bede's visions occur in the living history of England. From East Anglia, to Cunningham, to Bernicia, each account draws closer in time and place to Bede himself, and consequently to Bede's reader. The main translator of the *OEHE* seems to recognize this dynamic, distancing himself somewhat from Fursey via Bede, but transmitting Bede's first-person story of the drunken brother in the first person. By presenting a range of visionaries and experiences, Bede and his translator broaden the possibility of audience identification. Not only do saints receive assurances of their peaceful death and tours of the Otherworld, but pious thanes do too. Not only do impious, drunken brothers die in despair, but proud, unrepentant thanes do as well. These are not events that occur in the Holy Land; they occur in Britain. By removing the excerpts from Adomnán that immediately follow Bede's account of the drunken brother from the *OEHE*, Bede's translator deepens the emphasis on the present and the local. He may eschew the image of Christ's final footprints, but he has translated and transmitted fully and carefully Bede's evidence that hell can open up right in Bernicia. The uncertainty of the future, as the *OEHE* records it at the end of Book V, resonates with the fear and trembling of Dryhthelm and Fursey, shifting the focus of Book V more emphatically toward the early-medieval focus of prophetic history: its fulfillment in the next world.

The otherworldly visions in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and *OEHE* function like many others to impart secret knowledge about the End, but, at the same time, they also provide new authority confirming that history, in Britain specifically, proceeds and is legible according to divine intention. Readers of T, whose text ends with the reminder that those who do not 'go in the church door willingly humbled . . . must by necessity in hell's door unwillingly. . .' are confronted with the readerly task of completing that thought – whether they adhere to Bede's theology or not, the import is unmistakable because of the increasingly explicit message of the three visions. This explicit act of readerly interpretation and completion, brought about by the lost ending of the material text, calls attention to self-conscious moments of interpretation in the texts. It exposes the dynamics of emplacement, intervention and narration that interpret and shape our experience of history. Consequently, considering the material texts of the *OEHE* reveals the ways in which the translation and textual transmission of Bede's visions further emphasize the fact that those visions are *about* place, time and history.

60 *OEHE* V.14, p. 444.

8

Anglo-Saxon Signs of Use in Manuscripts O, C and B

> Nisi enim ab homine memoria teneantur soni, pereunt, quia scribi non possunt.[1]
>
> [For unless sounds can be retained by people in their memory, they perish, since they cannot be written]

At least since Fred Robinson's 1980 analysis of the metrical *envoi* in B, scholars of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts have gone 'back' to the manuscripts to examine whether the layout of the page – the use of capitals, display script, rubrication and spacing – can provide more information about texts, scribes and the uses of manuscripts than is provided by modern editions.[2] While Paul Saenger's *Silent Reading* traces the complex relationship between silent reading and oral performance via word spacing and punctuation, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe's *Visible Song* demonstrates the ways in which differences between punctuation practices in Latin and vernacular texts reflect the 'transitional literacy' of the scribes, and their relationship with Old English poetry.[3] Other scribal and

1 Isidore, *Etymologiae* 3.15.2, 26–7, quoted in Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 7 (Turnhout, 2007), p. 40.

2 Fred. C. Robinson, 'Old English Literature in its Most Immediate Context', *Old English Literature in Context*, ed. J. D. Niles (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 11–29, 157–61; see also Roy Liuzza, 'The Texts of the Old English Riddle 30', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 87 (1984), 1–15; Roy Liuzza, 'Scribal Habit: The Evidence of the Old English Gospels', in *Rewriting Old English in the 12th Century*, ed. M. Swan and E. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30 (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 143–65; Kevin Kiernan, 'Reading Cædmon's *Hymn* with Someone Else's Glosses', *Representations* 32 (1990), 157–74; Peter Baker, 'Textual Boundaries in Anglo-Saxon Works on Time (and in Some Old English Poems)', in *Studies in English Language and Literature, 'Doubt Wisely': Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*, ed. M. M. Toswell and E. M. Tyler (New York, 1996), pp. 445–56; Paul E. Szarmach, 'The Recovery of Texts', in *Reading Old English Texts*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 124–45; *Back to the Manuscripts*, Occasional Papers 1, ed. Shuji Sato (Tokyo, 1997); and *Old English Literature in its Manuscript Contexts*, ed. Joyce Tally Lionarons (Morgantown, WV, 2004). Timothy Graham's study of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and the early-modern interventions in them have also been formative for my understanding of reading Old English texts in their manuscript contexts; see below, n. 5.

3 Paul Saenger, 'Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society', *Viator* 13 (1982), 367–414; Saenger, *Space between Words*; Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 4 (Cambridge, 1990). Keith Busby refines and extends some of Saenger's conclusions in relation to French narrative romance in *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript* (Amsterdam, 2002). Daniel O'Donnell's unpublished dissertation extends and critiques O'Brien O'Keeffe, demonstrating that the larger manuscript contexts, such as whether a poem is framed by prose, also influences scribal habit. See Daniel Paul O'Donnell, 'Manuscript Variation in Multiple-Recension Old English Poetic Texts the Technical Problem and Poetical Art', Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1996.

readerly practices, such as glossing and annotation, have long been studied, not only for evidence of the state of learning in Anglo-Saxon England and of the development of Old English as a literary language, but also for evidence as to manuscript relations, source studies and the contents of libraries in early England.[4] Combined, a study of the layout and the signs of use in a manuscript, including punctuation, annotation and glossing, can provide important information on the uses of that manuscript, the degree of respect in which it was held and whether the uses or degree of respect changed over time.

All five surviving manuscripts of the *OEHE* show extensive signs of use. Together, they contain Latin glosses, marginal annotations and inscriptions, textual alterations, repunctuation, neumes and *nota* marks, as well as added accents, word divisions, chapter and book numbering. Although the dating of such interventions can sometimes be difficult to assess, the signs of use in the *OEHE* manuscripts date from the time the texts were originally copied until the early-modern period. Since the early-modern uses of the *OEHE* manuscripts have been studied extensively, this chapter focuses on the medieval marginalia, annotations and other signs of use.[5] Although some of the medieval glosses and annotations in the *OEHE* manuscripts have been investigated individually, they have not been studied comparatively with one another, or in relation to what we know about the provenance of the manuscripts. After a brief discussion of why these signs of use have not been analyzed, this chapter discusses the uses of manuscripts O, C and B during the Anglo-Saxon period and just after. The next chapter discusses the use of Old English manuscripts from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries in general, then looks closely at the glossing, annotations and other signs of use in manuscripts Ca and T.

Comparison suggests that the signs of use in the *OEHE* manuscripts reveal readerly interests in different aspects of the texts. Some, like Ca and T, reveal interest in historical moments and figures. Others, like O, reflect early interest in language, especially orthography. The extensive additions

[4] Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899* and *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066* (London, 1996); Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 25 (Cambridge, 1999). Gretsch provides a detailed bibliography for the study of glosses and glossing in Anglo-Saxon England. See also: H. D. Meritt, *Old English Glosses* (New York, 1945); A. G. Rigg and G. R. Wieland, 'A Canterbury Classbook of the Mid-Eleventh Century', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), 113–30; G. R. Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?', *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), 153–73.

[5] Timothy Graham has investigated the use of the *OEHE* manuscripts in the learning of Old English, compilation of glossaries, and early editions as marked by early-modern annotations by Matthew Parker, John Joscelyn, Robert Talbot and Abraham Wheelock extensively. See T. Graham, 'Matthew Parker and the Conservation of Manuscripts: the Case of CUL MS Ii.2.4 (Old English *Regula Pastoralis*, s. xi3/4)', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 10.5 (1996 for 1995), 630–41; T. Graham and Andrew G. Watson, 'Abraham Wheelock's Use of CCCC MS 41 (Old English Bede) and the Borrowing of Manuscripts from the Library of Corpus Christi College', *Cambridge Bibliographical Society Newsletter* (Cambridge, 1997), 10–16; T. Graham, *The Recovery of the Past in Early Elizabethan England: Documents by John Bale and John Jocelin from the Circle of Matthew Parker*, Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monograph 13 (Cambridge, 1998); T. Graham, 'The Beginnings of Old English Studies: Evidence from the Manuscripts of Matthew Parker', in *Back to the Manuscripts*, ed. Sato, pp. 29–50. See also T. Graham, ed., *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Publications of the Rawlinson Center 1 (Kalamazoo, MI, 2000).

to C and the marginalia added to the ample margins of B show an archival impulse and associate a surprising range of texts with the *OEHE*. Importantly, B also contains neumes (medieval musical notations), which relate directly to the main text and tell us something about the uses of that manuscript by the secular canons in Leofric's Exeter. The neumes especially provide new insight into the interface between the oral and the written, as well as the link between preaching and history in Anglo-Saxon England. Brought together, the neumes, annotations, glosses and other use-signs indicate that the *OEHE* manuscripts were employed for a variety of purposes. One especially intriguing possibility that becomes evident in almost all the manuscripts is that the *OEHE* was used as a resource for vernacular preaching materials, or as a corpus of vernacular local saints' stories and for oral performance, possibly at refectory readings or a vernacular office.

Several factors come into play when considering why this aspect of the material history of the *OEHE* manuscripts has been overlooked, including changing attitudes toward editing. Early editors of Old English texts were often motivated to recover authorial versions and present the earliest possible linguistic evidence. This often resulted in editions that rendered a text's material history invisible. Scribal interventions were seen as corruptions; marginal notes and other readerly interventions were even omitted from editions of Anglo-Saxon texts that claimed to represent the manuscript evidence with scrupulous fidelity, such as Henry Sweet's edition of the Old English version of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*.[6] Such editorial practices limited scholarly awareness of, and access to, annotations or other signs of use. However, as Derek Pearsall points out, manuscripts in which scribes have intervened provide insight into the reception of a text.[7] While Pearsall is discussing manuscripts of poetic texts, his observation extends to the scribes and manuscripts of the *OEHE* and what they can tell us about the medieval reception of the text.

In the case of the *OEHE*, as I have shown, early editorial practices also effectively discouraged knowledge of the differences between the Old English version and Bede's Latin original; the erasure of the signs of use and the differences between the manuscripts are related. Because the editions 'restored' the Old English to the shape and sequence of the Latin to the extent that such restoration is possible, they effectively obscured some of the intellectual activity of some scribes and readers. As I argue in the preceding chapters of this book, I believe that the way the main Old English translator adapted his source does not reflect the decline in learning described by Alfred in his Preface to the *Pastoral Care*; rather, it seems to me that it is precisely the main translator's clear understanding of the shape of Bede's narrative that informs his method of abridgment. One result of the way the *OEHE* translator reinterpreted his source is that it now reflects a focus on local history, Anglo-

6 R. M. Liuzza, 'Scribes of the Mind: Editing Old English, in Theory and Practice', in *The Power of Words: Anglo-Saxon Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Jonathan Wilcox and Hugh Magennis, Medieval European Studies 8 (Morgantown, 2006), pp. 243–77, at pp. 258–67.

7 Pearsall, 'Editing Medieval Texts', p. 103; see the epigraph to Chapter 1.

Saxon saints and their miracles; its style is more seamlessly hagiographical than Bede's Latin original. Many of the medieval signs of use in the *OEHE* manuscripts call attention to penitential and hagiographical materials useful for homilies, though not all of them do. This makes sense, because the uses of the *OEHE* were varied, and the manuscripts reflect the way the uses varied across place and time. The first two manuscripts I will discuss are O and C, both of which show signs of use from the Anglo-Saxon period. Both also show many signs of early-modern use, but unlike manuscripts B, T and Ca, they show fewer signs of use from the later-medieval period.

The Alterations in Manuscript O: A Preliminary Case Study

The extensive textual alterations in the O manuscript differ from the uses of the other manuscripts. While they give no clear indication of how the manuscript was used, they reveal information about orthography, scribal habit and the transmission of Old English in early-eleventh-century England. Unlike some of the interventions in the other *OEHE* manuscripts, the medieval alterations in O provide no evidence about the provenance of that manuscript, which remains unknown. Instances of eyeskip in the manuscript indicate that it is unlikely that the manuscript was checked against another copy of the *OEHE*. The nature of the alterations and contamination between extant manuscripts of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* make it difficult to determine if the text was checked against Bede's Latin. O was, however, bound with a fourteenth-century Latin copy (Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 279A) by the fifteenth century. While the Latin copy it was bound with obviously cannot have been so used (it postdates O), the act of binding the two together reminds us that the two texts co-existed, and that medieval and early-modern readers may have been able to check the Old English against the Latin (a point which is also relevant to my discussion of the glosses in T, below).

The textual alterations are the principal evidence of the medieval reception of this manuscript. Nearly three thousand alterations, which have been made by three or more hands, occur throughout the entire manuscript. Most are contemporary with the copying of the manuscript, and some are in the red ink of the rubricator. Where they are not correcting obvious copy errors, the alterations often change the spelling; however, there seems to be no clear pattern of modernization. Instead, what the alterations manifest is language change operating in a manner closer to the phases or *Schriftprovinz* Michelle Brown describes in her study of the Lindisfarne Gospels. According to Brown, paleographical and art-historical scholarship is 'moving away from a traditional linear approach to stylistic development'.[8] Instead, she argues, one sees 'a dispers[ed] and evolving set of interrelations'. Or, to supply a biological metaphor, we have more evidence of genetic drift than we do of systematic development.

8 Michelle P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe*, The British Library Studies in Medieval Culture (London and Toronto, 2003), p. 48.

The alterations in O include whole words written over erasures, or inserted between lines and in margins. Sometimes there are entire phrases or clauses entered in margins or between lines. Alterations to vowels, both stressed and unstressed, are frequent, as are alterations to consonants, consonant clusters, or combinations of vowels and consonants. Finally, there are many instances where words or letters have simply been erased. Many of the emendations appear to be running corrections made in the main hand, though, as noted above, some were altered later.

Even a preliminary analysis of these alterations troubles some of Thomas Miller's assertions about O. In his Introduction, Miller emphasizes the importance of instances where the letter *y* has been written over an erasure, because this alteration may reflect the shift from the Anglian dialect to Late West Saxon.[9] He gives a few such examples in his introduction, and emphasizes that 'The important point to notice is that the later W. Saxon forms replace Anglian, not early W. Saxon vowels'.[10] That is, the erasures and replacements occur in the cases of 'e' and 'i', but not 'ie'. While all of the *OEHE* manuscripts are predominantly Late West Saxon, evidence from the alterations in O suggests that the dialect shift did not happen as systematically as Miller suggests; in fact the strategies adopted in O appear to differ from those in the other manuscripts.[11] To provide an example, I have collated 17% of O with manuscripts T, B and parts of C, which provides just over a statistical minimum.[12]

Table 6. Summary of sampled alterations in O

Alterations in O	1r–7v	80r–89v	135v–145v	totals
entire words	20	20	15	55
phrases or clauses	5	6	6	17
vowels	48	76	79	203
stressed vowels	32	51	62	145
unstressed vowels	16	25	17	58
consonant clusters	54	51	85	190
consonants	33	30	47	110
combined vowels and consonants	21	21	38	80
erasures	13	14	25	52
total alterations	140	179	208	527

9 *OEHE*, p. xviii.

10 Ibid.

11 Gregory Waite and I will provide a full analysis in our forthcoming edition, and in two preliminary studies of West Saxon and Mercian dialect accommodation in manuscripts T and C, then in O.

12 The sections I have analyzed for this preliminary study are: O, folios 1r–7v, 80r–89v and 135v–145v, with the corresponding sections of B, T and C (where C survives).

There are 527 alterations in the sample, which includes passages from the beginning, middle and end of O. Of these, only thirty-four involve *y*'s. In most cases, it is impossible to tell what letter was there before the alteration. In one instance, an *i* has been altered to a *y*, and in another, the *e* in 'mercna' is changed to a *y*.[13] In the thirty-two remaining instances of alterations to *y* in this sample, the *y* was inserted over or written on an erasure whose original reading is not clear. Therefore, one cannot make a claim about whether the editor is updating the orthography of his source here; we do not know what the original reading in this manuscript was.

Table 7. Y-alterations in samples from O[14]

O Folio/ line	Y-alteration	O folio/ line	Y-alteration
1r/18	,\y/	84v/21	[i>y]
2r/2	[/y]	84v/21	[e+\y/]
2r/8	[/y]	87r/18	[/y]
3r/2	[/y]	88v/4	[/y]
3v/6	[/y]	137v/1	[/y]
4v/1	[/y]	138v/8	[/y]
5v/13	[/y]	139r/12	[/y]
7v/17	[/y]	140r/2	[/y]
7v/19	[/y]	140r/2	[/y]
80r/3	[/y]	140r/5	[/y]
81r/7	,\y/	140v/21	[/y]
81r/8	[/y]	141r/1	[/y]
82v/1	[/y]	141r/21	[/y]
83v/8	[/y]	142r/23	[/y]
83v/10	[/y]	142v/20	[/y]
83v/14	[/y]	143r/11	[/y]
83v/15	,\y/	144r/20	[/y]

Examining the *y* alterations in the context of alterations to other vowels also enjoins caution. While there are thirty-four alterations involving *y* in this sample, there are fifty-nine alterations adding an *e*, twenty-six adding an *i*, another twenty-six adding *o*, twenty-one adding *a* and another twenty adding *æ*. Some of these may be dialectal: there are thirteen instances where a seemingly Late West Saxon *æ* replaces a Mercian *e;* however, there also are six

[13] This is a correction whose orthographical significance may be of interest but whose phonological importance at the time O was written is minimal.

[14] Relevant transcription symbols: *x*/ = letter inserted above the line; /*x*\ = letter inserted on the line; [*x*] = erasure letter still legible; [/*x*] = letter written over erasure; [*x* > *y*] = letter converted to another.

counter-examples of an *æ* changed back to an *e*. Compared to alterations involving other vowels, the *y* alterations already become significantly less striking.

Comparison between manuscripts is only slightly more revealing: Firstly, all of the manuscripts agree on eight of these *y* alterations, which leaves twenty-six instances where the editors *may* have tried to alter the spellings of their source. But, this is less than 5% of the total alterations. O and B agree most often in having a *y*: twenty-three times in total – but they also vary five times on *y* alterations. Although this agreement between O and B is tantalizing, the overall low percentage suggests that this alteration, as interesting as it was to Miller, was not the sole objective – nor even a main objective – of those making the alterations. Discussing a few of these alterations without discussing the others is misleading as to the nature of the changes in O.

Use of the term *ono* enjoins a similar caution against assuming that alterations always update orthography, moving from Anglian to late West Saxon. Miller discusses the dispersal of the marked Anglian word *ono* across the different classes of manuscripts. He provides a chart comparing thirty-eight readings across the manuscripts, noting the 'free use' of the term and 'independence' of scribal practices.[15] However, although *ono* was systematically expunged from C/N, B and Ca, there are instances in O where the word was restored, especially on the large red capitals that begin the chapters in the second half of the manuscript. The independence of the scribes of O in this case is easily visible from Miller's chart, though he does not note all of the alterations.

A full analysis of all the alterations in O may change the details and the balance of these preliminary conclusions. The patterns that are beginning to emerge do show us, however, how one group of scribes grappled with a living, changing language and with the transmission and reception of what one may certainly call a living and changing text. My analysis so far suggests that the scribes of O did not have a second copy of the text to help them amend the first – at least not one that survives today. The alterations do not demonstrate a systematic scribal agenda of dialectal consistency or modernization; although they updated some spellings, they were also comfortable with spellings and Anglian forms that scribes from the other *OEHE* manuscripts expunged. What we see here may be the equivalent of what Keith Busby has found in Old French manuscripts; that is, that examining scribal habits and interventions 'enable[s] . . . us to see that the language is at one and the same time structured and changing, that it has a fundamental syntax, morphology, and phonology, but that these are fluid'.[16] I suspect that the full analysis of the alterations in O may confirm Richard Hogg's assertion that 'we should drastically revise our concepts of Old English dialects, for these concepts are too inflexible and fail to take account of the complex social and political structure underlying and in part shaping these dialects'.[17]

15 *OEHE*, pp. xxix–xxxi.

16 Busby, *Codex and Context*, p. 63. Busby's analysis is about Old French, but his point about language as we find it in the manuscripts is apt.

17 Richard M. Hogg, 'On the Impossibility of Old English Dialectology', in *Luick Revisited*, ed.

Signs of Use in C

In contrast to the linguistic and orthographic information marked by the alterations to O, the marginal annotations and additions to C and B tell us more about the possible roles these manuscripts played in Anglo-Saxon history and intellectual culture. The compilation of C suggests that it may have been used for archival purposes, or possibly adapted to suit the needs of readers in mid-tenth-century Winchester. Unfortunately, this manuscript was badly damaged in the fire at Ashburnham House in 1731, so that only about thirty-eight folios of the *OEHE* survive in it.[18] R. Torkar has recently reconstructed what he believes to be the proper order of the manuscript, which was partly rearranged and mixed with Cotton Otho B.x during the initial attempt at restoration after the fire.[19] One surviving, but incomplete, inscription helps confirm the later medieval provenance of that manuscript as Southwick. The lower margin of folio 28 reads: 'Fecerit quominus eiusdem Ecclesie sit seu qui hunc titulum dolo . . . deleuerit. nisi condigne eidem . . . Amen. Amen'. Neil Ker identifies this as a typical Southwick inscription and dates it to the thirteenth century.[20]

Prior to its arrival in Southwick, however, this manuscript was most likely written and housed in Winchester. As I note in Chapter 1, about fifty years after C was written, a number of texts were added to it. While most of these were destroyed in the fire, we know the details of the contents because the entire manuscript was copied by Laurence Nowell (now N).[21] Unfortunately, Nowell does not provide evidence of any medieval signs of use beyond the compilation of the manuscript. Some of the remaining leaves show minor alterations. Most are lightly pointed, and contain accents on one-syllable words. These appear to be scribal. One further twelfth- or early-thirteenth-century inscription remains partly visible on folio 10r. It runs vertically up the right margin, but is burned and further obscured by a cut made to flatten the vellum after the fire. Only, 'meus p** illos ut ****' remains visible. Someone also doodled three small comets in the margin by lines 3–5 of folio 33r, with a bracket at the ends of lines 3–4, which contains a fragment of V.3 (in which a comet appears). Because of the damage to the manuscript, it is impossible to assess whether there were further annotations that might have told us more about the status and uses of the manuscript in Southwick.

Dieter Kastovsky and Gero Bauer (Tübingen, 1988), pp. 183–203, at p. 198. See also Carolin Schreiber, 'Dialects in Contact in Ninth-Century England', *Bookmarks from the Past: Studies in Honour of Helmut Gneuss*, ed. Lucia Kornexl and Ursula Lenker (Frankfurt, 2003), pp. 1–31.

18 I have provided a complete description of all of the *OEHE* manuscripts in the Introduction; I reiterate here only the points most relevant to the signs of use in this chapter.

19 Torkar, *Übersetzung*, pp. 42–3. On the accidental mixing of manuscripts during early attempts to preserve the Cotton manuscripts, see Kevin Kiernan, Brent Seales and James Griffioen, 'The Reappearances of St. Basil the Great in British Library MS Cotton Otho B.X*', *Computers and the Humanities* 36 (2002), 7–26.

20 Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 234; see Plate 2, above. See also Ker, *Catalogue*, MS 215, pp. 280–1.

21 See Chapter 1, n. 21.

However, the act of adding the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and lists of bishops – both of which use Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a source – is potentially revealing. Although adding these texts to a copy of the *OEHE* may seem redundant, as Patrick Wormald points out, 'there is a sharp contrast between its [the *Chronicle*'s] emphasis on Wessex and Bede'.[22] He reads the construction of the composite manuscript as an extension of the 'argument' of Corpus Christi College Cambridge 173, which 'was designed to balance the dynastic achievement in battle and in justice. Alfred's law book with the Ine appendix testified that its history of preserving peace was nearly as ancient and 'law–law' was in counterpoint to 'war–war'.[23] Although Wormald's argument depends on reading the *Historia Ecclesiastica* as salvation history, and although he fails to observe the fact that the *OEHE* substantially revises this aspect of its source, his observations confirm the idea that these significant additions to the manuscript indicate that the *OEHE* was being anthologized for historical and archival – if not ideological – purposes, with the later *Chronicle* and Burghal Hidage materials serving to supplement the information contained in the *OEHE*. It is important to note that these other materials are appended to the *OEHE* rather than to CCCC 173. The activity of supplementing the copy of the *OEHE* that was in Winchester with materials clearly associated with Wessex and the activities of Alfred suggests that the *OEHE* alone did *not* suffice to fulfill the ideological agenda generally ascribed to Alfred's circle or that of his successors.

Signs of Use in B

The addition of the 'Seasons for Fasting' and the medicinal recipes to C, however, does not fit a historical or archival agenda as clearly. For Wormald, 'there is no very satisfactory explanation for the presence of medical texts in the manuscript' other than that they were 'part of clerical culture'.[24] However, there are parallels in the margins of B, which have also been described as a kind of an archive. Specifically, the formulae, some of which are medical texts copied into B in the mid-eleventh century, parallel some of the additions to C. Overall, however, the impulse of the texts collected in the margins of B seem to be more priestly than historical. They reflect overlapping, but not identical interests. The margins of B contain Latin liturgy with Old English rubrics and some neumes, a portion of the Old English *Martyrology*, six anonymous Old English homilies, charms in Latin and Old English and part of the Old English verse dialogue between Solomon and Saturn. A fourth hand records the gift of the manuscript to Exeter Cathedral library by Bishop Leofric (d. 1072). Both Neil Ker and M. R. James note 'scribbles' and runes, as well as the names 'Ælfwine' and 'Ælfwerd'.[25]

22 Wormald, 'British Library, Cotton MS. Otho B.xi: A Supplementary Note', pp. 61–2.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., p. 62.
25 Runes appear on pages 436 and 448; the names are added on pages 155 and 242, respectively.

Despite some tantalizing thematic resonances with the *OEHE*, the scholarly consensus is that the ample margins of B became a kind of archive for a variety of religious materials. These reflect mixed levels of Latinity, with an impressive array of international analogues and sources, some of which have historically been considered heterodox, though such attitudes are changing.[26] The marginalia in B has also been read as a signal that the book was housed in a small, second-rate center and used this way because the owners lacked enough vellum to write a separate book. While medieval marginalia commenting upon or clarifying the main text of a manuscript were, and are, understood to be a normal part of medieval textuality, scholars have remained reticent about what the varied, distinctive marginalia in B means about the degree of respect in which the manuscript was held.

There are, however, some overlooked markings in B that – while initially less visually striking – suggest that the main text in B was also being used for preaching or another kind of oral performance in eleventh-century Exeter. In addition to the numerous texts added to the margins, there are also neumes in the account of Cædmon and the vision of Dryhthelm.[27] While both Susan Rankin and K. D. Hartzell discuss the neumes copied with some of the liturgical marginalia in B, neither mention the neumes added to Bede's accounts of Cædmon and Dryhthelm.[28] Despite the prominence of these two episodes, and the emphasis on orality in most discussions of Cædmon's hymn, these neumes have somehow gone unnoticed. Importantly, the neumes written into the vision of Dryhthelm and those in the margins of Bede's account of Cædmon's Hymn differ in style and color than the neumes copied as part of the liturgical marginalia and noted by Rankin and Hartzell. The Cædmon and Dryhthelm neumes closely resemble eleventh-century neumes from Exeter – an identification that fits neatly with the known provenance of the manuscript.[29]

The dating, localization and other aspects of the study of neumes are admittedly slippery. According to Jan Ziolkowski, 'Neumation survives from the second half of the ninth through the end of the twelfth century for liturgical chant of course, but also from classical, late-ancient, and early-

26 See Milton McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Æelfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977); Malcolm Godden, 'Old English Composite Homilies from Winchester', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1977), 64–5, and Rowley, 'Nostalgia and the Rhetoric of Lack'.

27 Pages 324 and 422; there are also some neumes that appear to be pen trials in the lower margin of page 26.

28 Susan Rankin, 'From Memory to Record: Musical Notations in Manuscripts from Exeter', *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (1984), 97–112; K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written in or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (Woodbridge, 2006). Nor do they note the pen trials on page 26. See also Susan Rankin, 'The Liturgical Background of the Old English Advent Lyrics: A Reappraisal', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 310–36; Susan Rankin, 'Neumatic Notations in Anglo-Saxon England', *Musicologie médiévale: notations et séquences*: *Actes de la Table Ronde du C.N.R.S. à l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, 6–7 septembre 1982*, ed. Michel Huglo (Paris, 1987), pp. 128–44; John Haines, 'A Musical Fragment from Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Music* 36.2 (2008), 219–29.

29 I would like to thank Susan Rankin and Benjamin Albritton for discussing these neumes with me at the Parker Library. Any errors in my discussion here, of course, remain my own.



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Plate 4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, page 422
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medieval secular texts, including a number of entire classical Latin lyric poems and of passages in classical Latin epics'.[30] Neumes could serve several different functions in early manuscripts, including indicating melody, marking rhetorical emphasis, or serving as *signes de renvoi*. The development of neumes was intimately related with *grammatica* and developing practices in punctuation. The simplest form, the *virga*, closely resembles an accent.[31] Although Ziolkowski cautions that 'dating the neumation precisely is usually impossible',[32] Rankin has demonstrated that it was in the late-tenth and early-eleventh century that neuming became established in England, and that at least three scribes capable of writing musical notation were in Exeter Cathedral (along with B) in the eleventh century.[33]

Like punctuation and accents, neumes have much to do with reading and performance; they mark the interface between, and produce meaning on the edge of, the oral and the written. In the context of the *OEHE*, they play on the boundaries of prose and poetry, and suggest a closer relationship between history and preaching than is often assumed. Although Ziolkowski pays special attention to the neuming of classical poetry in medieval manuscripts, his conclusions that the neumes indicate 'the prestige attached to these works' is relevant to the neuming of episodes in the *OEHE*.[34] The neumes in B are small and few, especially when compared to the other marginalia in that manuscript; however, they suggest that, at least in Leofric's Exeter, B was held in high regard and used for oral performance in formal settings, possibly in chapter.

When Leofric moved his see from Crediton to Exeter, he founded a chapter of secular canons who followed the *Rule of Chrodegang*. Their offices differed from Benedictine offices, and form an important context for understanding the neuming of B.[35] According to this *Rule*, the day of the secular canons was tied to the canonical hours from compline until the end of chapter the next morning, after which his canons were free to go about their pastoral business. Unlike monastic rules, the *Rule of Chrodegang* does not specify precisely 'what psalms should be said when, nor the number of readings for different

30 Jan Ziolkowski, 'Women's Lament and the Neuming of the Classics', in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 128–50, at p. 128

31 See Haines, 'Musical Fragment', p. 227, and Saenger, *Silent Reading*. See also Susan Boynton 'Orality, Literacy and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56.1 (2003), 99–168.

32 Ziolkowski, 'Women's Lament', p. 5.

33 Rankin, 'From Memory to Record', 97–8.

34 Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, p. 37.

35 Frank Barlow, Kathleen M. Dexter and Audrey M. Erskine, *Leofric of Exeter: Essays* (Exeter, 1972); Elaine M. Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter, 1050–1072: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence', D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, D29189/80 1978 (12979); Elaine Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050–1072', *Review of English Studies* n.s. 54 (2003), 155–72; Joyce Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', in *Imagining the Book*, ed. S. Kelly and J. J. Thompson (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 77–98; David Blake, 'The Development of the Chapter of the Diocese of Exeter 1050–1161', *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982), 1–11; Patrick W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 4 (Woodbridge, 1993). On the *Rule of Chrodegang*, see Martin A. Claussen *The Reform of the Frankish Church* (Cambridge, 2004).

seasons'.[36] Silences were not as strictly enforced, the period of morning study was for 'those who are able', and the rules for the divine offices include exceptions for those whose duties demand that they be absent. More importantly, chapter becomes the middle point of the lives of secular canons: it is the only absolutely mandatory daily event for Chrodegang's canons. Related to the disciplinary 'chapter of faults' of the Benedictines, chapter becomes much more in the *Rule of Chrodegang*, including a session for the recitation of texts and common reading. Just as Chrodegang sought to use meal-times to create community, he transformed chapter in such a way that it fostered the formation of a textual community grounded in recitations and common readings. Four days a week, the readings would be from Chrodegang's *Rule* itself. But on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, the readings could be 'selections from . . . homilies, or whatever else is edifying for the listeners'.[37] Not only was chapter more theologically open and varied in terms of readings on these three days, it was also physically open to non-cathedral clergy; that is, clergy from the city or countryside nearby. These outside clergymen were also welcome in the refectory afterwards, so Chrodegang's – and therefore Leofric's – regular practices opened outward to a broader community, and, by order of the rule, had more flexible readings than monastic houses at the time. While the night office of monastic houses may have been flexible enough to include readings from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* or the Old English translation of it, chapter, as developed by Chrodegang and theoretically practiced in Leofric's Exeter, provided additional possibilities for readings from B.

While B is usually described by scholars of Exeter and Leofric's library as a liturgical book because of the extensive priestly marginalia, it is the *OEHE*, not the marginal liturgical texts, that was neumed by one of the musical scribes from Exeter. Although Leofric began with only six 'old and very poor' books, by the time he founded his library in 1072 he had over sixty-five books, many of which were in English and thirty-one of which were liturgical.[38] At least sixteen of these books contained musical notation, eight by Rankin's 'principal music scribe', and perhaps some written by Leofric himself. The written notation could serve a variety of functions, including use in divine offices, or the morning period of study.

Although Leofric owned and commissioned many books, including copies of Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care* in Latin and Old English, to our knowledge he did not have a copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* in Latin. Without one, his copy of the *OEHE* could not serve as a crib – a copy secondary to, or operating in the service of, the primary Latin original. Although anthologizing was a regular feature of book production in Anglo-Saxon England, Leofric's copy of the *OEHE*, our B, stands alone among Anglo-Saxon manuscripts as a bilingual anthology including the history of the English Church and the lives of key English saints, plus masses, a martyrology, almost a year's worth of liturgy,

36 Claussen, *Reform*, p. 69.
37 Ibid., pp. 70–1.
38 Rankin, 'From Memory to Record', p. 101.

charms for healing and wisdom literature. As a practical, bilingual collection, the manuscript brings together interests that can be seen as prominent in Leofric's establishment: English, music and pastoral care. The neumed passages, the stories of Dryhthelm and Cædmon, especially because of their focus on the religious experiences of the laymen, would be especially relevant for recitation and study in a session of Chapter including clerics from the surrounding city and countryside. Whether the musical notation enhanced the performance and meaning, whether it became an *aide memoire*, or both remains unclear – and may differ between the two passages.

Unlike the other marginalia in B, the neuming of the Dryhthelm and Cædmon episodes relates directly to the main text and suggests oral performance of it. Such use of these episodes is not entirely surprising; after all, Ælfric used Bede's account of Dryhthelm as the basis for his homily 'Item in letania maiore feria tertia'. Perhaps less well known than Cædmon today, Dryhthelm and his vision were extremely popular in the Middle Ages.[39] As I discuss below, Ca also contains annotations, glosses, added accents and repunctuation, some of which may also suggest oral performance, in the vision of Dryhthelm. The neumes in B's account of the vision of Dryhthelm are clear: they appear directly over the vowels of the words, indicating that these words were sung when the text was read aloud. The forms include the *pes*, *climacus*, *clivis* and *virga*. The ink is dark, and the pen significantly finer than that of the main text, though not of the accents (which may or may not be original). The neumes are expertly drawn above the line 'þone on þære þeðu þ(æt) fægeroste werod' ('that [place] in which you then [saw] the fairest host').[40] This moment occurs when Dryhthelm's guide is describing the blessed host who are not quite perfect enough to enter the kingdom of heaven that they saw during his otherworldly vision – a host that Dryhthelm might join if provided he does not 'live as [he] used to, but in a very different way'.[41] Given Dryhthelm's status as a layman, the neumes here provide tantalizing evidence that B may have been used for preaching to the laity – though this idea must remain speculative. One might imagine that lines from the visions of Chad or Fursey would be more appropriate for preaching to a monastic audience. Whatever the audience may have been, the neumes in this episode call attention directly to the promise of heaven for the imperfect.

Given that someone was clearly performing a line from the vision of Dryhthelm, the idea that someone might have presented parts of Bede's account of Cædmon aloud does not seem implausible. Curiously, the neumes in Bede's account of Cædmon do not appear on the Hymn itself, nor do they indicate as clearly as the Dryhthelm neumes that anyone might have been

39 See Chapter 1, n. 30.

40 The whole line (B421/25–422/09) is: 'Seo blosm berende stow þone on þære þeðu þ(æt) fægeroste werod gesawe onþære beoð onfangene soðfæstra manna sawla ðaðe ongodum worcum oflichaman gangað ⁊hwæþere ne beoð swamicelre fullfremednesse þ(æt) hisonasyn on heofona ríce gelædde ealleþæ hwæðere ondomes dæge tocristes gesyhðe ⁊togefean þæs heofon lican ríces inngan gað'. This diplomatic transcription from B corresponds to *OEHE* V.13, p. 432/10–11, based on T, which also includes the line 'in giogoðhadnesse gesawe scinan ⁊ wynsumian' after 'werod'.

41 *HE* V.22, p. 489.



Plate 5. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, page 324
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singing parts of this famous episode – though that possibility cannot be ruled out, especially since the pages of B were not formatted for neuming. Some manuscripts that are formatted for neumes include separate columns for neumes placed alongside the text column.[42] The Cædmon neumes occur in the left margin of folio 324, just before line two, which reads: 'gefremede · Ac his sang ⁊ his leoð wæron swa wynsume togehyrenne þ(æt)te þa sylfan lareowas æfter his muðe writon ⁊ leornedon' ('But his song and his verses were so pleasant to hear that those same teachers wrote and learned at his mouth').[43] Positioned in the left margin right beside the word 'gefremede' ('performed'), are three neumes (including forms of *clivis* and *climacus*), in a hand very similar, if not identical, to the Dryhthelm neumes. They mark the point at which Cædmon's teachers 'wrote and learned at his mouth', which is an addition in the *OEHE*. In Bede's Latin, his teachers merely 'become his audience'.[44] If the musical notation here was not meant as part of an oral performance in eleventh-century Exeter, at the least it calls clear, and possibly musical, attention to the act of *writing* music at a crucial moment in the *OEHE*. These neumes may also mark the fact that this particular reader could write music too, which seems to have been a cutting-edge skill to have in England at the time.

As Rankin points out, the neumes written in Exeter in the eleventh century reflect not only an early stage in the writing of musical notation in England, but also 'the interaction of the oral and written elements in the musical traditions'.[45] Cædmon's Hymn has long been famous as a formative moment marking the interaction of oral and written poetry, as well as the interaction between Latin and the vernacular in early English textual culture.[46] Although Old English versions of Cædmon's Hymn were penned into the margins of many Latin manuscript of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the Hymn itself does not receive special annotation or markings in any of the *OEHE* manuscripts (though figures such as Cuthbert, Hild and Ceadwalla do). The neumes in B reflect the particular interest of the neumatist in Exeter, who is excited not about orality but about *literacy*. To be more specific, he is excited about being able to write music down. He calls attention to the fact that we have no idea what the teachers who transcribed as Cædmon sang actually wrote. John Haines's recent essay on neumes in the margins of the Durham Cassiodorus suggests the possibility that neumes were being written at Wearmouth-Jarrow as early as the eighth century – but he remains cautious.[47] No comparative early evidence survives. Like Bede's stories of Abbot John and Maban teaching music in early England, these neumes provide a tantalizing glimpse of a crucial part of early English monastic culture to which we have almost no

42 Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, p. 23.
43 B324/2–5
44 *HE* IV.24, p. 419.
45 Rankin, 'From Memory to Record', p. 99.
46 See O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*. See also Daniel O'Donnell, *Cædmon's Hymn: A Multi-Media Study, Edition and Archive* (Cambridge, 2005).
47 See Haines, 'Musical Fragment', p. 223.

access. Rather than calling attention to Cædmon's miraculous gift, they call attention to an extremely important moment in history: the development of written musical notation. Even if these neumes mark the ability to write music rather than indicate changes in pitch or movements in tone for someone reading the Cædmon story aloud, they remind us (with Augustine of Hippo and Isidore of Seville) not only of the ways in which spoken or sung sounds are lost for ever, but of the astonishing importance of learning how to put music in writing.

Recent scholarship on Cædmon and orality in Old English literature has tended to focus on the elusive nature of the oral trace.[48] The problems surrounding Cædmon's Hymn itself, and questions whether the poem we have is a back-translation from Bede's Latin remind us constantly of what we do not know about early English poetry. While the neumes in B may not help us reconstruct lost poems or performances, they remind us not to underestimate the significance of the evidence we do have about developments in the technology of writing. Cædmon's miracle may be spectacular to us, but to someone in eleventh-century Exeter, the moment his teachers wrote down what he said was as or more striking. The three neumes not on the Hymn, but on the page after it, mark not only this important development in writing, but also the complicated relationships between hagiography, history and preaching in early England. Evidence that the *OEHE* was being used for some kind of formal oral performance – whether for preaching to the laity or as part of a vernacular office – not only sheds light on the nature of medieval interest in Cædmon, but it also makes the priestly collection of texts in the margins of B seem less anomalous.

The neuming of the *OEHE* also reveals an exciting new context for considering the collection of texts in the margins of B, contexts that resonate with annotations and glossing of hagiographical episodes in T and Ca, which I discuss below. Using the margins of B for an ecclesiastical archive of homilies, liturgy and formulae seems congruent with the uses of the other *OEHE* manuscripts, including C. B is the largest of the *OEHE* manuscripts; its margins provide ample writing space. Given its dimensions and the generous size of the writing itself, the whole book could easily have been used for readings. While the liturgical and homiletic materials in the margins are significantly smaller than the main text, it is not much smaller than hands found in small, portable psalters. The homilies in B, especially, are surprisingly clear and legible. They are also heavily pointed and contain small decorated capitals. Some of the liturgical texts are even rubricated and neumed, which further substantiates the ideas that B may have been more than a temporary archive. All such markings serve to distinguish texts and facilitate reading, whether silent, aloud or both. Books were relatively few in early England. While B may not be a deluxe copy, nor as aesthetically pleasing as the *Benedictional of Æthelwold*, all signs in the manuscript itself point not to the 'second rate';

48 See O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*; Kiernan, 'Reading Cædmon's *Hymn*'; O'Donnell, *Cædmon's Hymn*.

rather, they suggest that the people who had access to this book made the most of it. It was highly valued and used for a variety of hagiographical, priestly and performative purposes. The neuming in B also suggests an exciting new context for considering the collection of texts in the margins of B, contexts that resonate with the later-medieval annotation and glossing of hagiographical episodes in manuscripts T and Ca.

9

Later-Medieval Signs of Use in Manuscripts Ca and T

Although Neil Ker reported that 'manuscripts in Old English were considered to be practically without value in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', scholarly attitudes about that assessment are changing.[1] Multi-lingual activity, including the use and copying of Old English manuscripts, continued in libraries and monastic centers after the Norman Conquest: Patrick Wormald has shown that Old English laws were compiled and translated into Latin and Richard Gameson has demonstrated that libraries in England were built up with texts current on the Continent.[2] Benjamin Withers has recently pointed out that the illustrated Old English Heptateuch (British Library, Cotton Claudius B.iv) was 'given an honoured status at least since the fourteenth century, when a catalogue from St. Augustine's monastery at Canterbury records that it was shelved in an exalted spot in its library, on the first shelf of the first bookcase'.[3] Others, including Elaine Treharne, Mary Swan, Christine Franzen, Joyce Hill, Susan Irvine and Wendy Collier, have also demonstrated that later-medieval interest in and use of Old English manuscripts extends beyond the antiquarian to the practical, and beyond the work of familiar glossators and annotators, such as the Tremulous Hand of Worcester and Coleman.[4] According to Treharne:

1 Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xlix.

2 Patrick Wormald, '*Lex scripta* and *Verbum regis*: Legislation and Germanic Kingship, from Euric to Cnut', in *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (Leeds, 1977), pp. 105–38, and *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century, I, Legislation and its Limits* (Malden, MA, 1999); Richard Gameson, 'English Manuscript Art in the late Eleventh Century: Canterbury and its Context', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars 1066–1109*, ed. Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe (London and Rio Grande, OH, 1995), pp. 95–144.

3 Benjamin C. Withers, *The Illustrated Old English Hexateuch, Cotton Claudius B.iv: The Frontier of Reading and Seeing in Anglo-Saxon England* (London and Toronto, 2007), p. 4.

4 *Rewriting Old English in the 12th Century*, ed. M. Swan and E. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30 (Cambridge, 2000); Franzen, *Tremulous Hand*; J. Hill, 'The Dissemination of Ælfric's Lives of Saints: A Preliminary Survey', in *Holy Men and Holy Women*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1996), pp. 235–59; *Old English Homilies from MS Bodley 343*, ed. S. Irvine, Early English Text Society, os 302 (Oxford, 1993); Susan Irvine, 'Linguistic Peculiarities in Late Copies of Ælfric and their Editorial Implications', in *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson, King's College London Medieval Studies 17 (London, 2000), pp. 237–57; Susan Irvine, 'The Compilation and Use of Manuscripts Containing Old English in the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English*, ed. Swan and Treharne, pp. 41–61; Wendy Collier, 'The Tremulous Hand and Gregory's Pastoral Care', *Rewriting Old English*, ed. Swan and Treharne, pp. 195–208. See also Elaine Treharne, 'Reading

> Even though English became the minority written language from *c.* 1060–*c.* 1200 and beyond, there is a notable body of texts that survives from this period. Manuscripts extant from the mid-eleventh century to the beginnings of the thirteenth that contain Old English, or works derived from earlier, pre-Conquest exemplars, number over fifty. To this substantial collection can be added the manuscripts from pre-1100 that contain the English annotations and glosses of twelfth- and thirteenth-century users; there are over one hundred surviving examples. It is the case, therefore, as these manuscript witnesses evince, that English was demonstrably an important and utilitarian literary language throughout this period.[5]

Evidence from manuscripts Ca and T bear out Treharne's assertion that 'that annotators and glossators were perfectly able to read late West Saxon up to two centuries after its literary zenith'.[6] Although evidence of the use of Old English manuscripts does decline across the thirteenth and into the fourteenth century, it does not die out entirely. Rather, as T and Ca attest, it varied from place to place, then from individual to individual.[7]

The nature of the later uses of Old English manuscripts also varied, but some trends can be discerned. Although Joyce Hill has suggested that some of Ælfric's homilies and saint's lives may have been adapted for 'secular' use (specifically in relation to Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 343),[8] Irvine cautions that 'the copying of Old English texts without substantial adaptation is unlikely to have had preaching as its direct objective'. Instead she suggests that later copies of Old English manuscripts 'may have provided useful literature in English for monks or clerics who relied on the vernacular as a primary source for their own education and as a secondary source for preaching material'.[9] Irvine's suggestion parallels Franzen's idea that the Tremulous Hand may have been glossing and annotating homiletic and penitential manuscripts to cull them for preaching materials.[10]

Looking at the later-medieval signs of use in the manuscripts of the *OEHE* in relation to other Old English manuscripts that show signs of continued use into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries adds some weight to the idea that the manuscripts being compiled or used after 1200 provided important vernacular resources for religious education and possibly preaching. The uses

from the Margins: The Uses of Old English Homiletic Manuscripts in the Post-Conquest Period', in *Beatus Vir: Studies in Early English and Norse Manuscripts in Memory of Phillip Pulsiano*, ed. A. N. Doane and Kirsten Wolf (Tempe, AZ, 2006), pp. 329–58.

5 Elaine Treharne, 'English in the Post-Conquest Period', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford, 2001), pp. 403–4.

6 Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins', p. 345.

7 Clement of Canterbury and John de Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, 1327–69, used and annotated a variety of early English manuscripts. Grandisson annotated the eleventh-century gospels of Luke and John, now London, British Library, Lat. bib. d. 10. See *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, ed. Bruce C. Barker-Benfield, XIII (Chicago, 2009); Margaret W. Steele, 'A Study of the Books Owned or Used by John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (1327–1369)', D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, D181845/95, 1994.

8 Hill, 'Dissemination', p. 249.

9 Susan Irvine, 'The Compilation and Use of Manuscripts Containing Old English in the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30 (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 41–61, at p. 60.

10 Franzen, *Tremulous Hand*, p. 190.

Table 8. Later uses of Old English manuscripts
(drawn from Ker's Catalogue; article or folio listed when indicated by Ker)

Ker no.	Art./ Fol.	Date of MS	Repository shelfmark	Content (abbreviated)	Use(s)	Date of use(s)
15	arts. 65–7	s. x/xi	CUL Gg 3.28	Homilies of Aelfric	Text altered/added, glossing	s.xi
15			CUL Gg 3.28	Homilies of Aelfric	Text altered/added	s. xii
18		s. xi/xii	CUL Ii.1.33	Homilies and saints' lives	Text altered/added	s. xii/xiii
18			CUL Ii.1.33	Homilies and saints' lives	Notes in Latin	s. xiii/xiv
18	ff. 37–42		CUL Ii.1.33	Homilies and saints' lives	Glosses after s. xiii, English	s. xiv
18			CUL Ii.1.33	Homilies and saints' lives	Glosses after s. xiii, Latin	s. xiv
18			CUL Ii.1.33	Homilies and saints' lives	Titles	s. xiii/xiv
18			CUL Ii.1.33	Homilies and saints' lives	Running titles/numerations	s. xiv
19		s. xi$^{3/4}$	CUL Ii. 2.4	Gregory's Pastoral Care	Glosses s. xiii, Latin	s. xiii
21		s. xi^{med}	CUL Ii.4.6	Homilies	Notes in Latin after s. xiii	s. xiii/xiv
23		s. xi^{2}	Ca	OEHE	Latin glosses	s. xii
23			Ca	OEHE	Glosses in OE and L	s. xiiiin
23			Ca	OEHE	Running titles (WCP)	s. xi
30		s. x^{2}	CCCC 12	Gregory's Pastoral Care	Table of contents	s. xiii
30			CCCC12	Gregory's Pastoral Care	Glosses in OE and L	s. xiiiin
38		s. xi^{1}	CCCC 162	Homilies	Text altered/added	s.xi
39	Art. 1	s. ix/x	CCCC 173	Chronicles, laws	Text altered/added	s.xi
41	Art. 31	s. xi^{1}	CCCC 178	Homilies, Rule of Benedict	Text altered/added	s.xi
41			CCCC 178	Homilies, Rule of Benedict	Glosses in OE and L	s. xiiiin

Ker no.	Art./ Fol.	Date of MS	Repository shelfmark	Content (abbreviated)	Use(s)	Date of use(s)
41			CCCC 178	Homilies, Rule of Benedict	Table of contents	s. xiii
48	Art. 44	s. xi^{1}	CCCC 198	Homilies	Latin notes	s. xii/xiii
48			CCCC 198	Homilies	Glosses in OE and L	s. xiii^{in}
48	Arts. 63,65		CCCC 198	Homilies	Rubrics	s. xiii
49B	Arts. 33–4	s. xi$^{in\text{-}med}$	CCCC 201	Homilies, laws	Text altered/added	s. xii
56		s. xi/xii	CCCC 302	Homilies	Text altered/added	s. xii
56			CCCC 302	Homilies	Text altered after s. xiii	s. xiii
57		s. xii^{med}	CCCC 303	Homilies	Glosses after s. xiii, English	s. xiii
57			CCCC 303	Homilies	Notes in Latin after s. xiii	s. xiii
57			CCCC 303	Homilies	Notes in Latin after s. xiii	s. xiv
57			CCCC 303	Homilies	Foliations	s. xiv
60		s. xi^{2}	CCCC 322	Gregory's dialogues	Latin glosses	s. xii
60			CCCC 322	Gregory's dialogues	Incipits and explicits	s. xiii
62		s. xii^{2}	CCCC 367	De Temporibus	Notes in Latin after s. xiii	s. xiv
65		s. xi/xii	CCCC 383	Laws	Text altered/added	s. xi/xii
73		s. xi^{med}	CCCC 557	Legend of the cross	Latin glosses	s. xiii^{in}
86		s. xi^{med}	CTC B.15.34	Homilies	Text altered/added	s. xii
86			CTC B.15.34	Homilies	English glosses	s.xii
125		s. xi^{2}	Lincoln, Cathedral 298, no. 2	Hexatuech	Glosses in L and OE	s. xiii^{in}
142		s .xi^{1}	Cotton Claudius B.iv	Hexateuch	Text altered/added	s. xii
142			Cotton Claudius B.iv	Hexateuch	English notes	s.xii

Ker no.	Art./ Fol.	Date of MS	Repository shelfmark	Content (abbreviated)	Use(s)	Date of use(s)
142			Cotton Claudius B.iv	Hexateuch	Latin notes	s. xii
148		s. xi/xii	Cotton Domitian V.iii	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle	Notes in Latin after s. xiii	s. xv
153	Fols. 119v-30v; 162v-64	s. xii^{1}	Cotton Faustina A.ix	Homilies	Text altered/added	s. xii
153	Fols. 70–3; 103–9		Cotton Faustina A.ix	Homilies	Notes in Latin after s. xiii	s. xiii
154		s. xi^{2}	Cotton Faustina A.x	Aelfric's Grammar	Text altered/added	s. xi/xii
154			Cotton Faustina A.x	Aelfric's grammar	English glosses	s.xii
154			Cotton Faustina A.x	Aelfric's Grammar	French glosses	s. xii
154			Cotton Faustina A.x	Aelfric's grammar	Latin notes	s. xii
160		s. xi^{med}	Cotton Julius A.vi	gloss to hymns and canticles	Titles	s. xv
161	Fols. 153v, 159v	s. x/xi	Cotton Julius A.x	Martyrology	Text altered/added	s. xii
164		s. xi^{in}	Cotton Nero A.i	Ecclesiastical Institutes, laws	Text altered/added	s.xi
178		s. xi^{med}	Cotton Otho Bx	Homilies	Latin glosses	s. xii
181	Vol. 1	s. xi^{1}	Cotton Otho C.i	Gospels	Text altered/added	s. xii
182	Vol. 2	s. xi^{med}	Cotton Otho C.i	Gregory's Dialogues	Running titles (WCP)	s. xi
186		s. xi^{med}	Cotton Tiberius A.iii	Gloss, Rule of Benedict	Text altered/added	s.xi^{2}
191		s. xi^{1}	Cotton Tiberius B.i	Orosius	Text altered/added	s. xi/xii
199		s. xi$^{3/4}$	Cotton Tiberius C.vi	Psalter gloss, homilies	Glosses after s. xiii, English	s. xv/xvi
220		s. x/xi^{1}	Cotton Vitellius C.v	Homilies	Rubrics	s. xiv
225		s. xi^{1}	Harley 55	Recipes, laws	Latin glosses	s. xii
229		s. x/xi	Harley 208	'scribbles'	Text altered/added	s.xi
232		1046x1072	Harley 863	Gloss	Foliations	s. xiii

Ker no.	Art./ Fol.	Date of MS	Repository shelfmark	Content (abbreviated)	Use(s)	Date of use(s)
245		s. xii^{2}	Royal 1 A. xiv	Gospels	Text altered/added	s. xii
245			Royal 1 A. xiv	Gospels	English glosses	s.xii
245	f. 148		Royal 1 A. xiv	Gospels	Text altered after s. xiii	s. xiii
245			Royal 1 A. xiv	Gospels	Latin glosses	s. xiv
249		s. x^{med}	Royal 2 B.v	Psalter gloss	English glosses	s.xi/xii
257		990	Royal 7 C.xii	Homilies of Aelfric	Text altered/added	s. xi/xii
257			Royal 7 C.xii	Homilies of Aelfric	Text altered/added	s. xii
264		s. x^{med}	Royal 12 D.xvii	Medicinal recipes	Latin notes	s. xii/xiii
264			Royal 12 D.xvii	Recipes	Titles	s. xiii
309		s. xiin-med	Bodley 340 +342	Homilies	Text altered/added	s.xi
309			Bodley 340 +342	Homilies	Text altered/added	s. xii
309			Bodley 340 +342	Homilies	Latin glosses	s. xiv
309			Bodley 340 +342	Homilies	Table of contents	s. xiv
309			Bodley 340 +342	Homilies	Titles	s. xiv
309			Bodley 340 +342	Homilies	Running titles/numerations	s. xiv
310	f. 71v	s. xii^{2}	Bodley 343	Homilies	Text altered after s. xiii	s. xv
310			Bodley 343	Homilies	Glosses after s. xiii, English	s. xv
324		890x897	Hatton 20	Gregory's Pastoral Care	Text altered/added	s.xi
328		s. xi^{1}	Hatton 76	Gregory's Dialogues	Latin glosses	s. xii
331		s. xi$^{3/4}$	Hatton 113,114	Homilies	Latin notes	s. xii
331			Hatton 113,114	Homilies	Running titles (WCP)	s. xi
331			Hatton 113,114	Homilies	Table of contents	s. xiii

Ker no.	Art./ Fol.	Date of MS	Repository shelfmark	Content (abbreviated)	Use(s)	Date of use(s)
331			Hatton 113,114	Homilies	Titles	s. xiii
332		s. xi$^{3/4}$	Hatton 115	Homilies	Table of contents	s.xii
333		s. xii^{1}	Hatton 116	Homilies	Running titles/numerations	s. xiii
334		s. x/xi	Junius 11	Poems	Titles	s. xiv
336		s. xi med	Junius 85–6	Homilies	Titles	s. xiii
338	ff. 102–10	s. xi$^{3/4}$	Junius 121	Ecclesiastical Institutes, Aelfric, letters	Running titles (WCP)	s. xi
343		s. xi^{med}	Laud Misc 482	Penitential	Latin glosses	s. xii`
344		s. xi$^{3/4}$, xi^{2}	Laud Misc 509	Heptatueuch/Aelfric	Text altered/added	s. xi/xii
344			Laud Misc 509	Heptatueuch/Aelfric	Latin glosses	s. xi/xii
344			Laud Misc 509	Heptatueuch/Aelfric	Notes in Latin after s. xiii	s. xiii/xiv
344			Laud Misc 509	Heptatueuch/Aelfric	Running titles/numerations	s. xi/xiv
346		s. xii$^{1\text{–}med}$	Laud Misc 636	Peterborough chronicle	Notes in Latin after s. xiii	s. xiii/xiv
351		s. x^{in}	T	OEHE	Glosses after s. xiii, Latin	s. xiv
351			T	OEHE	Running titles/numerations	s. xiv
353		s. x^{2}	CCCO 197	Rule of St. Benedict	English glosses	s.xii
354		s. xi^{in}	CCCO 279b	OEHE	Text altered/added	s.xi
362		s. xi^{in}	Oxford, St. Johns 154	Aelfric's Grammar	Text altered/added	s.xi
362			Oxford, St. Johns 154	Aelfric's Grammar	Titles	s. xv
367		s. xi^{med}	Paris BN Lat 8824	Psalter	Titles	s. xiv
373		s. xii^{1}	Rochester Cathedral Library A.3.5	Laws, genealogies	Titles	s. xiv

of Old English manuscripts become especially illuminating when viewed from a diachronic perspective. I have combined the lists in Ker's Catalogue and Christine Franzen's study, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester*, to arrive at a working total fifty-nine manuscripts written before 1200 containing at least a hundred different layers of textual intervention. My work on B and Ca serves as a reminder that this list is illustrative rather than comprehensive. For example, Ker lists two layers of use in Ca: the running titles and glosses. But as I discuss below, Ca was glossed by two different hands (one earlier than the Tremulous Hand) as well as annotated by Coleman. Furthermore, many of the kinds of marks left by readers, such as nota marks, crosses and neumes are difficult to date with certainty. With these cautions in mind, data compiled from Ker and Franzen nevertheless reveals that a significant number of Old English manuscripts remained in use in the centuries after the Norman Conquest and that there are clear trends in the data.

The clearest trend is the continued use of manuscripts containing the works of Ælfric or which are homiletic. To be more precise, twenty-four (or about 40%) of the fifty-nine manuscripts are all or partly homiletic. Six additional manuscripts containing the work of Ælfric also show signs of later use (these are his *Grammar*, Latin letters and *De Temporibus)*. Legal, historical and biblical manuscripts, along with the English translations of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis* and *Dialogues* make up the larger groupings. As with the manuscripts being copied and compiled after the Conquest, the vast majority of the Old English manuscripts that continued to be used contain content relevant to religion and pastoral care. There is a range of types: a martyrology, a psalter, a book of prayers, the 'Legend of the Cross', several manuscripts with mixed pastoral content and two copies of the *Rule of St. Benedict*. Two of the historical manuscripts are copies of the *OEHE*, in which the later-medieval markings have to do with figures like early saints and ascetics like Cuthbert and Dryhthelm. (It may be worth noting here that there are later-medieval additions to Dryhthelm's vision in Cambridge University Library Ii.1.33.[11]) If we combine the *OEHE* manuscripts with the translations of Gregory's writings and biblical texts, we have a group of eleven manuscripts containing Old English translations from the Latin continuing to be used. In this context, it seems clear that content *and* language were relevant to later readers.

The use of Old English books, along with their compilation and translation, needs to be recognized as an important activity at that time. Old English books relating to pastoral care were valued and continuously used; they can productively be seen as part of what Christopher Cannon has recently called 'one, great, polyglot tradition'. According to Cannon, 'the multilinguality of monastic libraries in Britain was a physical correlative of the linguistic eclecticism structured in all British monastic life'.[12] Similarly, as Nicholas Watson and others have shown, there was an active dialogue

11 Swan, 'Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* in the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English*, ed. Swan and Treharne, pp. 62–82, at p. 79.

12 Christopher Cannon, 'Monastic Productions', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 316–48, at p. 327.

about vernacular spirituality, and a tremendous amount of religious prose written in or translated into English between the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and the Constitutions of Oxford in 1407.[13] Rather than being 'useless', many Old English manuscripts played a role in this dialogue. That being said, although many Old English manuscripts remained in use in the centuries after the Norman Conquest, evidence of such use decreases in the fourteenth century. The relative rarity of such signs of use makes the *OEHE* manuscripts containing later glossing and annotation, manuscripts Ca and T, especially valuable for understanding not only the transmission, reception and status of the *OEHE*, but also for improving our understanding of the uses of late West Saxon after the Norman Conquest and into the fourteenth century. Glossing and annotation were common in Anglo-Saxon England; such activities could facilitate reading for private devotion, and sometimes denoted that manuscripts were used as classbooks.[14] In the cases of T and Ca, the glosses and annotations are less consistent with use as a classbook; rather, they may mark the use of the *OEHE* as a resource for vernacular preaching materials well into the fourteenth century.

The Glosses and Annotations in Ca

Because the glosses and annotations in Ca have been more fully studied, examining them first will help contextualize the less studied glosses and annotations in T. Ca was glossed by the best-known thirteenth-century glossator of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, known as the Tremulous Hand of Worcester, who glossed about twenty Old English manuscripts.[15] (In fact, according to Ker, only five Old English manuscripts contain Latin glosses dating to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries that are *not* by the Tremulous Hand.[16]) Collier and Franzen have analyzed the widely scattered lexical glosses by the Tremulous Hand in Ca and other manuscripts; Franzen demonstrates that the Tremulous Hand glossed *OEHE* during his 'Bold Phase', concluding that 'most are cribbed from the Latin source. . . . For the most part, the Old English follows the Latin so closely that the slavish glossing does not cause

13 Nicholas Watson, 'Middle English Mystics', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 539–65; *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity*, ed. Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson (University City, PA, 2003); Anne Savage and Nicholas Watson, *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works*, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 1991); Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 13 (Cambridge, 1991).

14 See Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript'. See also *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence, Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge* 39, ed. Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari and Maria Amalia D'Aronco (Turnhout, 2007).

15 Franzen, *Tremulous Hand*, p. 1.

16 Angus Cameron presents a list of manuscripts containing Latin and English glossing from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries; see his 'Middle English in Old English Manuscripts', in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins*, ed. Beryl Rowland (London, 1974), pp. 218–29. He lists the glosses in T as s. xiii, but does not discuss why he dates the glosses earlier than Ker (*Catalogue*, p. 222).

difficulty.'[17] Franzen suggests that the Tremulous Hand was a Latin master. Because 'his work concentrated on vernacular didactic and penitential literature', she speculates that he may have been interested in 'making vernacular preaching material available'.[18] It may well be, as Franzen also suggests, that the Tremulous Hand intended to revive the Worcester tradition of copying and studying English manuscripts, possibly in connection with the canonization of St. Wulfstan in 1203.[19]

But it is also important to note that the activities of the Tremulous Hand were part of a lively, ongoing tradition at Worcester, which extended beyond glossing. As Rodney Thompson points out in his *Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library*,

> the Worcester monks, notoriously, scribbled their names and other notes in the manuscripts. No fewer than 72 names have been found, and the handwriting of a number of monks identified even when the name does not appear. As a consequence, it is possible to study the use of these books in the monastic contexts, and even construct brief intellectual biographies of some individuals.[20]

While the very early-thirteenth-century hand who glossed the opening passages and a few later pages of Ca has not been identified, another annotator of this busy manuscript was Coleman, chancellor to Archbishop Wulfstan in 1089 and prior of Westbury-on-Trym in 1093. Coleman was an advocate of vernacular preaching, as well as preaching by priors; he apparently preached in place of Wulfstan himself. Neil Ker, Elizabeth MacIntyre, David Johnson and Winfried Rudolf have determined that Coleman annotated several manuscripts, including CCCC 178 and 265, Bodleian Library Hatton 113 and 114, which contains homilies by Ælfric, and British Library Cotton Otho C.i, a copy of Wærferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*.[21]

Coleman's annotations to Ca include comments about kings and bishops, as well as about the edifying nature of the vision of Dryhthelm. As Thomson suggests, one can trace his intellectual biography by reading his annotations and the passages he marks. For example, Coleman adds what could be described as a chapter heading in small capital letters in the margin of folio 84v: 'hu ceadwala west sæxena cining forlet his rice; ⁊ for to rome. ⁊ wearð ge fullod fram sergio papa. ⁊ eft. Ine cing dyd ealswa' ('how Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons gave up his kingdom and went to Rome and was

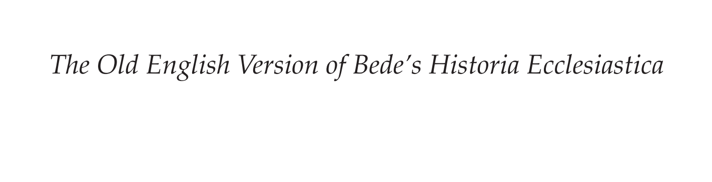
17 Franzen, *Tremulous Hand*, pp. 130–1. In Ca, there are also many scattered marginal and interlinear glosses with a more noticeable tremble as well. The Tremulous Hand may have become and remained interested in the *OEHE* because of the wealth of edifying stories already singled out for him by Coleman.

18 Ibid., pp. 189–91.

19 Ibid., p. 183.

20 Rodney M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library*. (Cambridge, 2001), p. xix.

21 See Ker, 'Old English Notes', and Johnson and Rudolf, 'More Notes'. See also E. A. McIntyre, 'Early-Twelfth-Century Worcester Cathedral Priory with Special Reference to the Manuscripts Written There', D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1979; David F. Johnson, 'Who Read Gregory's *Dialogues* in Old English?', in *The Power of Words: Anglo-Saxon Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Jonathan Wilcox and Hugh Magennis (Morgantown, WV, 2006), pp. 171–204, at pp. 189–90.



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Plate 6. Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.3.18, folio 8v
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baptized by Pope Sergius. And afterwards King Ine did the same.'). A page later (85r), he marks, also in small capitals, the death of Archbishop Theodore: 'hu theodorus arcebisceop forð ferde ⁊bri[ht]wald feng to þam ric. . .' ('how Archbishop Theodore departed and Brihtwald acceded to the kingdom'). Coleman's annotation to the *OEHE*'s account of the vision of Dryhthelm reveals more about his motivations: 'sumes goodes mannes gesihðe be heofene rice ⁊ be helle wite ræd hit ⁊ well understond ⁊ þu bist þe betere' ('a good man's vision of the kingdom of heaven and of the punishment of hell; read it and understand well and you will be better').[22] This section in Ca was also glossed by the Tremulous Hand, as was the account of Dryhthelm in Bodleian Library Hatton 115. (Coleman may also have annotated Hatton 115, but insensitive trimming has reduced the evidence to a tiny 'm' in the left margin of folio 47v, a mark too small to draw conclusions or make an identification.) Because Dryhthelm gives away his property and engages in strict, self-imposed penance upon returning to life, his story fits neatly into the patterns of sacrifice, pilgrimage and penance that can be traced in the work of both Coleman and the Tremulous Hand. Such interest in Dryhthelm clearly resonates with the neuming of his episode in B, and marks the importance of the episode to medieval readers and preachers, from Ælfric to Coleman, to the Tremulous Hand, and from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries.

Furthermore, this penitential focus of the glossing and annotations in Ca, combined with the variety of the signs of use in the manuscript, point toward practical rather than antiquarian interest. Collier's analysis of the Tremulous Hand's glossing and annotation of manuscripts of the *Regula Pastoralis* notes that the Tremulous Hand's practices extend beyond glossing to include adding word separators and nota marks, as well as altering the vowels of personal pronouns.[23] Similarly, he also adds nota marks and some word separators in Ca. Collier concludes that the 'multi-layered nature of the Tremulous Hand's work . . . suggests that he had more than one purpose in his work'.[24] Reading his efforts in the context of the importance of vernacular instruction in England after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, she suggests that the Tremulous Hand 'was using the terminology of the text, and also that of the penitentials, to produce some kind of vernacular pastoral handbook'. Collier connects the Tremulous Hand's use of English to the continuous use of English in the south-west Midlands after the Norman Conquest, as evidenced by the 'Katherine Group' of saints' lives and work of Layamon.[25]

The work of the Thorney Glossator of T, to whom I turn next suggests that such continuity was neither limited to Worcester, nor as rare as conventional descriptions of post-Conquest uses of English have suggested.[26] Thorney

22 Printed in Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 37; *OEHE* II.2, p. 532.

23 Collier, 'Tremulous Hand', pp. 197–8.

24 Ibid., p. 205.

25 Ibid., pp. 207–8. On the importance of the Fourth Lateran Council to the use of Old English manuscripts, see also Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins', p. 348. See also Dorothy Bethurum, 'The Connection of the Katherine Group with Old English Prose', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 34.4 (1935), 553–64.

26 See Seth Lerer, 'Old English and its Afterlife', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English*

Abbey was in Cambridgeshire, near Peterborough. As Treharne points out, 'the evidence of the *Peterborough Chronicle* . . . shows that for certain monastic cathedral institutions (Rochester, Christ Church Canterbury, and Worcester, for example), there were those scribes who in their copying still attempted to adhere to "classical" Old English'.[27] Although the signs of use in T do not provide further evidence of the copying of Old English, they clearly reflect a high level of comprehension and multi-layered practices similar to those of the Tremulous Hand. They also signal practical rather than antiquarian use, but reflect different interests.

Glosses and Annotations in T

Although we cannot trace the learning curve of the glossator of T the way that Franzen has studied the Tremulous Hand's, the glosses and annotations in T reveal a high level of proficiency in Old English for a fourteenth-century reader. Although T has been studied extensively, the annotations and additions in it, unlike those in B and Ca, have been almost entirely ignored.[28] This oversight is especially lamentable, since the oldest substantial manuscript of the *OEHE* contains some of the most unusual and distinctive signs of use. As I have noted, these include added chapter numberings and word separators, running titles, annotations, Latin glosses and drawings.

Although the Latin glosses are quite distinctive, none of the editions of the *OEHE* print them. Janet Bately's 1992 Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile edition made the glosses somewhat more accessible. Although Bately points out that the glosses provide evidence that T 'was being read and studied long after the conquest', she neither prints them nor discusses their content.[29] In an otherwise positive review of Bately's edition, Vincent McCarren points out that Bately's treatment of the glosses is not comprehensive. McCarren prints a select few of the glosses in his review, but argues that until they are studied more thoroughly, 'one has no idea . . . of the content and worth of these glosses'.[30] Richard Gameson includes a similarly brief notice in 'The Fabric of the Tanner Bede', where he describes the varieties of later-medieval use of T, including the glosses. He notes that 'such intelligent interest in an Old English text is rare at this date',[31] and reports that subsequent casual use of the book is revealed by various drawings and doodles probably of the twelfth-, thirteenth- to fourteenth-, and sixteenth- or seventeenth-century date. More significant is the serious interest which was taken in the text in the fourteenth century, when running headings, chapter numbers (referring

Literature, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 7–34.

27 Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins', p. 334.

28 Rowley, 'The Fourteenth-Century Glosses and Annotations in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Tanner 10', 1–3.

29 Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p. 32

30 Vincent McCarren, review of Bately, *Speculum* 69.4 (1994), 1111–15, at p. 1113.

31 Gameson, 'Fabric', p. 201, n. 14.

to the Latin text), marginal titles and interlinear Latin glosses were added.[32]

In contrast to the Tremulous Hand's wide range of glosses in Ca, most of the fourteenth-century glosses in T cluster in sections specifically concerning Gregory the Great and Augustine of Canterbury. A few straggling glosses appear in the episodes about Kings Oswald and Edwin. Running titles and marginal annotations in the manuscript occur regularly in Books III and IV, which emphasize English saints' lives and miracles. There are 118 interlinear Latin glosses, one marginal gloss (a grand total of 119), as well as ten marginal notes and running titles (see Appendix III). The glosses begin just after what is now the beginning of the manuscript, on folio 1r, corresponding to I.23 of the Latin. Two glosses are partially visible on the torn tab, which is all that remains of folio 2. While these fragments indicate that folio 2 was glossed before it was lost, there is no way to know if the glossator worked continuously from the beginning of Book I, which is also lost. All of the glosses appear to be lexical. They are written in a informal, compressed, and highly abbreviated cursive book hand. The ink is a pale, golden brown. Ker, Bately, and Gameson date the glosses to the fourteenth century.[33]

While there are scattered glosses in Bede's account of the assassination attempt on King Edwin, a few on Oswald's healing miracles (including one on Acca's account of Oswald to St. Willibrord, the Anglo-Saxon missionary to Germany), the bulk of the glosses occur at the end of Book I and the beginning of Book II in chapter dealing with Gregory the Great and Augustine of Canterbury's mission. Of the total 119, ninety correspond to Bede's Latin, while twenty-four do not; five are erased or illegible. While a 75% ratio of glosses corresponding to Bede's Latin may seem slavish, some of the independent glosses suggest a surprising level of facility with Old English on the part of the Thorney Glossator(s).

Several of the glosses that do not correspond to Bede's Latin occur in passages where the Old English recasts, or even embellishes the Latin. For example, on folio 1v of T, which corresponds to *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.23, there are thirty-five glosses. Up until line 21, all but two of these correspond to the Latin, but in lines 22–6 of this folio, three out of four do not:

~ *exhortas*

þa |sende scs gregorius ærendgewrit him to ⁊ heo trymede |⁊ lærde · In þæm

~ *co(n)fisos*

gewrite. þæt heo eaðmodlice ferde in þæt |weorc þæs godes wordes ⁊ getreowde in

^ *adiutorio* ~ *t(er)rere*

godes fultum ·⁊ þæt |heo ne fyrhte · þæt gewiin þæs siðfætes ne wyrgcweodulra |[34]

[32] Gameson, 'Fabric', p. 177.

[33] Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 428; Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p. 26; Gameson, 'Fabric', 177.

[34] Although folio 2 of T is torn, the sense unit ends 'monna tungan ne bregde' (T ends at 'ne'). Miller translates 'Then St. Gregory sent a letter to them, in which he exhorted and instructed them to proceed humbly to the work of God's word, and trust in God's support; that they should not



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Plate 7. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 10, folio 1v
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In terms of the glossing, what we see here is not inconsistency; rather, the glossator is continuing to work on a passage where the Old English no longer corresponds to the Latin because the Old English translator has summarized Gregory's letter. While the grammatical form 'terrere' and 'exhortas' are not correct (though 'terrere' may just be truncated), the others are, and all are lexically accurate.

A similar moment occurs in II.1, Bede's 'Life of Gregory', which is substantially abbreviated in the *OEHE*. The glossator continues to work with relative accuracy even where the Old English departs from Bede's Latin. For example, in this section he glosses 'ahsode' ('asked') with 'interogarit', 'lareowas' ('teachers') with 'ministros', 'fultome' ('help') with 'adiutori' and 'æðele' ('noble') with 'nobilio'.[35] This passage reveals an interesting variation in the Old English version: according to Bede, the pope would have allowed Gregory to take on the missionary work, but the people did not want him to go. In the Old English version, however, the pope would not allow Gregory to take on the mission. Nor would the people allow that 'a man so noble and excellent and so learned should go so far from them'.[36] Here we see the Old English embellishing the story to play up Gregory's character, and – more importantly – the fourteenth-century glossator keeps up with the Old English, at least at the level of diction.

Although there is no way to know if the Thorney Glossator worked continuously from the now missing beginning of Book I, he seems to have chosen to gloss key moments in the story of the conversion of Anglo-Saxon England: Gregory's encounter with the slave boys, the purported inspiration for the mission, his exhortation to Augustine to go on with the mission when he was afraid and the conversion of King Æthelbert. Except for a few scattered exceptions, the glosses then break off until the translation of the *Libellus Responsionum*, Gregory's reply to Augustine's questions, which is placed at the end of Book III in all manuscripts of the *OEHE*.[37] Both the translation and the glosses remain extremely close to Bede's Latin here. The Tremulous Hand, whose glossing of Ca is much more extensive, lightly glosses some of the same parts of Book I and the beginning of Book II, but not the *Libellus Responsionum*. Furthermore, the Tremulous Hand only glosses the same word as the Thorney Glossator twice. Where the Old English reads 'feran onginnon'

be afraid of the toil of the journey, nor dread the tongues of evil-speaking men' (p. 57). As Greg Waite has pointed out to me, the passage is somewhat confusing because of a pattern seemingly established by first the two noun clauses, in which 'heo' is the subject. But 'fyrhtan' and 'bregan' mean 'to frighten', not 'to be frightened of', or 'to dread', as Miller's translation indicates. These verbs usually take the accusative, which corresponds more closely to Gregory's Latin here: 'nec labor uos ergo itineris nec maledicorum hominum linguae deterreant' ('do not let the toilsome journey nor the tongues of evil speakers deter you', *HE* I.23, pp. 70–1). Accordingly, either 'heo' is the accusative object of 'fyrhte' and 'bregde' as subjunctive plural verbs (note that *-e* subjunctive plural endings are common in the text, as evidenced by 'ferde' and 'getreowde' in the same sentence), or the translator may have been confused. I would like to thank Greg Waite for his insights into this passage (personal correspondence, 30 September 2010).

35 T fol. 6r/25, 6v/7, 9, 12.

36 *OEHE* II.1, p. 99.

37 See Chapter 6.

('they began to go'), the Thorney Glossator has 'agredi c(o)epissent', which corresponds to Bede's Latin. Here, the Tremulous Hand writes 'ire' and then an abbreviation that may possibly be expanded to 'c(o)epissent'.[38]

A significantly more interesting word glossed by both readers is 'coheredes' for 'æfen erfeweardas' ('joint-heirs'). Notably, T has a variant form of an unusual word here. The other *OEHE* manuscripts read 'efen yrfeweardas'. According to Gregory Waite, this is a rare word with Anglian associations.[39] On the one hand, then, it is unsurprising to find a rare word glossed both times it occurs in T. On the other hand, however, these glosses raise the question of whether the Thorney Glossator paid special attention to hard or rare words. This, however, is clearly not the case.

According to Waite, the *OEHE* contains 235 *hapax legomena*. Surprisingly, only one of these is glossed in T, 'fleosewade', which means 'whispered' or 'dissembled'.[40] It occurs in Bede's account of the attempted assassination of King Edwin. In T, it is glossed with 'uolueret', which corresponds to Bede's Latin. Including these two words, however, only five or six glosses out of 119 occur on words that are rare or Anglian. The others are: 'bewereð' ('avert'), 'elreordan' ('foreign'), 'gewinfulne' ('laborious'), and 'fyrhte' ('afraid'), although Waite is cautious in his designation of 'fyrhte' as rare or Anglian, given how common the form 'gefyrhte' is.[41]

With only 5% of the glosses occurring on unique, rare or Anglian words, of which there are over seven hundred in the *OEHE*, dialect and difficulty cannot be the driving force behind the glossing. In fact, at least half of the words glossed in T are in the *Middle English Dictionary*. The glosses include examples from all the parts of speech, including 'aput', for 'ymb' ('about', folio 1r/23), 'illi' for 'heo', which is repeated two lines later ('they', folio 1v/11 and 13). There are also glosses for 'p(rae)dicare' for 'bodian' ('preach', folio 1v/10), 'domu(m) redire' for 'ham cerdon' ('turned home', folio 1v/15), 'barbaram' for 'elreordan' ('foreign', folio 1v/14), and even 'in' for 'in' ('in', folio 1v/20). If the glossator were trying to learn Old English, the full range of the parts of speech and the variety of words, teamed with occasional repetition of pronouns, would make sense. Then again, if the glossator were trying to learn, one would imagine the glosses would be much more pervasive throughout, like the glosses of the Tremulous Hand.

Three additional factors, however, suggest that the glossator or glossators may have actually been able to read the Old English: the running titles, the

38 T, fol. 1v/12, K.k.3.18, fol. 25, *HE* I.23, p. 68.

39 Waite, 'Vocabulary', Appendix II.

40 Fol. 16r/2.

41 According to Waite, while *afyrhte* is common, Franz Wenisch argues that the unprefixed and *ge-* forms are Anglian, though the glossator would most likely have recognized the form intuitively. Waite suggests 'I suspect his glossing is to indicate that here the word is the verb frighten, rather than the adjective afraid. I.e. he is providing syntactical guidance rather than lexical, perhaps'(personal correspondence, 30 September 2010). Waite, 'Vocabulary', Appendix II; Franz Wenisch, *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut in den nordhumbrischen Interlinearglossierungen des Lukasevangeliums* (Heidelberg, 1979). See also Hans Schabram, *Superbia. Studien zum altenglischen Wortschatz* (Munich, 1965).

addition of correct chapter numbers corresponding to the Latin, and consistently accurate word separators. Significant portions of T include 'light strokes', as Bately describes them, made 'by a later scribe (possibly a fourteenth-century glossator) . . . indicat[ing] the proper divisions'.[42] While it would be impossible to prove conclusively that the glossator made the word divisions, the ink of the strokes is usually the same light golden brown to golden brown as the glosses.[43] The strokes correspond to, and extend beyond, the sections that are glossed or annotated. I should note that the scribes of T usually separated syllables or morphemes, rather than words, with spaces. This practice reflects a practice common in early England, which Saenger calls 'morphemic hierarchical word blocks', in which 'major spaces were inserted exclusively between words or between morphemic syllables'.[44] The Thorney Glossator added virgules between words to adapt the text to later practices. Although these virgules are not perfectly accurate, they are quite consistently accurate. By clarifying where the words begin and end in certain episodes, they may have facilitated both reading for private devotion and reading aloud.[45]

While adding word separators may not provide incontrovertible evidence of the ability to read Old English, the fact that the chapter divisions in the *OEHE* do not always correspond to the chapter divisions in the Latin original suggests a significant level of facility with the Old English. As discussed in Chapter 1, the question of chapter divisions is especially complicated in T, where random leaves are missing throughout. Even if the annotator was working before many of the (presumably) decorated pages went missing, adding the chapter numbers still required reading Old English because of differences from Bede's Latin. For example, in I.12 of the *OEHE* corresponds to chapters 15 and 16 of Bede's Latin.[46] Chapter 13 in the Old English jumps to chapter 23 of the Latin, where T now begins. The loss of folio two, however, creates a gap extending until chapter 25 in the Latin. Because of the pilfering of the initials, the end of Book I and beginning of Book II are also missing. Such gaps continue throughout the manuscript, but the added chapter numbering remains accurate. As a result, following the chapters in the manuscript can be quite confusing. It may not be implausible to suggest, then, that the fourteenth-century annotator who entered the chapter numbers was able to read at least some of the Old English to do the job as accurately as he did. Whether Thorney Abbey owned – or temporarily obtained – a copy of the Latin and used it to make the Old English version easier to navigate, it seems quite clear from these efforts that the Old English version was used and valued in the later Middle Ages.

In addition to calling attention to key figures, the presence of marginal annotations and running titles in T may provide evidence of why the manuscript was being read in the fourteenth century. The bulk of such navigational

42 Bately, *Tanner Bede*, p. 18.
43 Miller notes this, *OEHE*, p. xv.
44 Saenger, *Silent Reading*, p. 41.
45 Ibid., pp. 13ff.
46 These chapters survive in Ca and B.

annotations and running titles appear in Books III and IV, though mostly in Book IV. The annotations and running titles employ a hierarchy of scripts that seem designed to help the reader(s) navigate through the manuscript and find sections about key historical figures. Two of the annotations are in a less formal style: '\\Ceadwalla reg//' appears in brackets (folio 87r), while a little box with '\\de s(anc)ti b(e)n(e)d(ic)to | Werm'// comes just two pages later (folio 89r). These are written in a cursive book hand, much like the glosses, and may have been written by the same person. In contrast, however, the style of the running titles corresponds to that of the chapter numbers, and may have been written by another annotator. But, if they were also written by the glossator, the more formal script, a version of Anglicana Formata, may possibly reflect degrees of respect or importance for persons of special interest.

The marginal annotations 'De Paulino', and 'Oswius' (folio 38r), which mark the chapters concerning them in Book III, are also printed in a more formal style than either the glosses or the annotations for Ceadwalla or Benedict. Saint Cuðbert warrants both a bracketed marginal annotation, 'de sco' cutb(er)to' (folio 104r/25–7), in a style similar to the glosses, and a running title written in the more formal hand with capitals 'De sco' Cudberto' (folio 105v/2) at the start of the next chapter. Ætheldreda and Hild (though not Cædmon) also receive special notice: 'De sca' aeltheldryda' (folio 90r/13), 'De sca' Hilda' (folio 95r/18). Finally, the most elaborate running title of all reads 'Incipit vita sci' Joh(an)is archiep(iscop)i de Beverlaco' (folio 116v/12–13). The last three running titles mentioned are all in the more formal script, and are followed on the same line by chapter numbers, which adds credence to the idea that the same person entered both chapter numbers and running titles.

Finally, on folios 127v and 131r, a later hand (or later hands) added three drawings, two of which occupy blank spaces left for initials by scribe 5. Gameson dates these, based on style, to some time between the late-thirteenth century and the third quarter of the fourteenth century.[47] He describes the first two as 'a monstrous, long-necked human figure, wearing pointed shoes and having hooves instead of hands . . . a grotesque creature with a capped human head, a long, swan-like neck and a griffin's body'.[48] The addition on 131r is a four-headed dragon-like creature. Although Gameson suggests that these drawings show disrespect for the manuscript, the dragon-like creature marks the beginning of Dryhthelm's vision. The other figures decorate the margins of Ecgbert's divine revelation and mark the beginning of the chapter discussing Willibrord's mission (*OEHE* V.9–10). As we have seen, Dryhthelm's vision remained extremely popular and received marked attention in several other manuscripts of the *OEHE*. The initial for this chapter in B is also a later insertion (see jacket illustration), and someone has doodled a severed head in the margin of the page. While the Thorney Glossator was interested in other topics and figures, and chose not to annotate the vision, the drawing added at this point in T is nothing if not distinctive. Although it is impossible to rule

47 Gameson, 'Decoration', p. 134.
48 Ibid.

out the possibility that these are senseless and disrespectful doodles, Susan L'Engle's work on student annotations in law manuscripts demonstrates that some marginal drawings were systematic and meaningful.[49] The drawings added to T are not part of a larger system of annotation initiated by a later reader, but they may have served as place-markers for that reader, and other readers of T after him (or her).

Although one cannot make sweeping claims about the signs of use in T, these signs can be read as indicating readerly interest in different historical figures and events. One clear similarity between manuscripts Ca and T stands out from this survey: later-medieval readers were interested in Anglo-Saxon abbesses, saints and kings, many of whom appear in Books III and IV, and the visionaries of Book V, especially Dryhthelm. The annotator of T calls marked attention to major figures like Archbishop John of Beverley, while the glossator demonstrates clear interest in Gregory and Augustine – the glossator and annotator may, of course, be the same person employing a hierarchy of scripts. In contrast, the Tremulous Hand and Coleman focused on figures like the thane Dryhthelm, who may have appealed to them not only because of his vision and penance, but also because of his relatively low status – he could provide a highly useful example for preaching to the laity. All of the annotations and running titles in T, however, highlight sections concerning key figures in the history of the English Church as well as English saints. While the glosses in T concentrate on Gregory the Great, Augustine of Canterbury and issues of pastoral care in the *Libellus Responsionum*, the frequency of annotations increases dramatically in Book IV of both manuscripts – the book of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* with the bulk of miracles performed by specifically Anglo-Saxon saints.

Significantly, with the exception of Cuthbert, the saints and kings whose lives and deeds are annotated in Book IV of T do not appear in the *South English Legendary*.[50] The absence of figures like Hild, Æthelthryth, Benedict Biscop (whose annotation specifically indicates 'St. Benedict of Wearmouth'), and Ceadwalla from the *South English Legendary* may explain why readers in the fourteenth-century may have turned to the *OEHE* as a vernacular resource for information about them.

The combined evidence of the Latin glosses, the annotations, running titles, chapter numbers and word divisions suggest that in the fourteenth century at least one person (and probably more), most likely at Thorney Abbey, was capable of reading and was interested in using the *OEHE*. The traces that the

49 Susan L'Engle, 'Let the Margins Be Filled with Graffiti! Creatively Reading the Law', in the session 'Medieval and Early Modern Reading Methods', 45th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, 14 May 2010.

50 Gregory the Great, King Oswald and Augustine of Canterbury, the accounts of whom are glossed in T, are included in *The South English Legendary. The Early South-English Legendary, or Lives of Saints: Ms. Laud 108*, ed. Carl Horstmann, Early English Text Society, os 87 (London, 1887, rpt. Millwood, NY, 1975); *The South English Legendary, Edited from Corpus Christi College Cambridge ms. 145 and British Museum ms. Harley 2277 with Variants from Bodley Ms. Ashmole 43 and British Museum ms. Cotton Julius D. IX*, ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn and Anna J. Mill, Early English Text Society, os 235, 236, 244 (Oxford, 1956–9).

reader or readers left in this manuscript reveal possible interests, suggesting that the *OEHE* may have been used as a vernacular resource for information about the history of the English Church, as well as the miracles and lives of specifically English religious leaders. Whether such use was for private devotion, some kind of oral performance or both is impossible to know. At the least, however, the glosses provide further evidence for the continuity of English. They also provide a glimpse into the different practices and interests of the people who sought out and used Old English resources in the fourteenth century.

Overall, the combined historical and hagiographical emphasis of the annotations and use-signs in the *OEHE* manuscripts suggest that they were used for a variety of overlapping purposes in the Middle Ages. Just as T and Ca reflect interest in Anglo-Saxon abbesses, saints and kings, B and Ca reflect, among other things, interest in Dryhthelm. C and B share an archival impulse. Most show signs that would facilitate reading, but whether such use was for private devotion, some kind of oral performance, or both is impossible to know. In the case of B, the evidence suggests the text was used directly for formal oral performance, possibly at chapter or for a vernacular office. Some of the annotations corroborate changing ideas about the continued, practical use of Old English manuscripts after the Conquest. Judging by this evidence it was not as schoolbooks, but for hagiographical information that people turned to this group of manuscripts during the later Middle Ages. Rather than indicating a lack of respect for these books, or the secondary status of the people using them, the medieval annotations and signs of use reveal that these manuscripts were valuable vernacular sources for reading, preaching and the transmission of knowledge about local saints, saintly kings and other historical figures in England.

Conclusion

The driving principle behind this book is that the differences between the *OEHE* and its source are revealing and important. An anonymously translated vernacular history that circulated in England from the earliest phases of Old English prose to the Norman Conquest and beyond, the *OEHE* engages and deploys Bede's voice and authority, but presents a shorter version of Bede's great work with different emphases. Readers who believe that the chief duty of a translation is to transmit the content of its source text with absolute fidelity (whether word by word or sense by sense) may disagree with some of the methods by which Bede's translators transformed their source. As I show in my Introduction, however, there was an active debate about the art and nature of translation in Anglo-Saxon England. Bede's translators combined lexical precision with a sometimes Latinate syntax to create a text that has been both praised for its poetic skill and criticized for being unidiomatic and too literal. Although this combination seems paradoxical at first glance, analyzing the text more closely reveals the translators' deep knowledge of Latin and creative, flexible, often pointed use of English.

Historically, the fact that the translators had these skills becomes important in a way that transcends the debate about fidelity in translation. The very existence of the *OEHE* challenges King Alfred's famous claim that Latin learning had fallen off completely south of the Humber. Moving beyond the word/sense binary, and comparing the ways in which the vernacular version differs from Bede's Latin not only reveals the intellectual activity of his translators, but also contributes to our understanding of early English history and literature. My comparison historicizes Bede's text and reveals the textual and social construction of the grand narrative of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*. It also calls attention to ways in which Bede's belief in the universal mission of Christianity influences his representation of the conversion of England, contributing to the recent debate about the ways in which the virtually seamless narrative of his *Historia Ecclesiastica* has dominated historical accounts. Again, this is not to denigrate Bede's ability as a historian; his work was and is astonishing in its documentation, accuracy and clarity. That being said, his sources were limited, and his agenda was clear. While the *OEHE* itself remains a highly ecclesiastical narrative, it recasts some of Bede's dominant themes in order to decenter Rome, revise his salvation history and present a less pejorative depiction of the Britons. It shares and transmits Bede's ideas about the didactic powers of history, but does not read the Viking invasions as divine punishment. It retains all of Bede's *exempla* and most of Bede's miracles, often heightening the impact of individual episodes through careful wordcraft and stylistic doublings.

A vernacular text that circulated both with Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and alone, the *OEHE* was transmitted, repaired and annotated from the early-tenth to the fourteenth centuries. It was used for some combination of private devotional reading, oral performance, and as a vernacular resource for information about Anglo-Saxon saints, kings, bishops and abbesses, possibly for preaching. As such, it opens a wider, if not new, space for thinking about language and power in Anglo-Saxon England, where the relationship of the vernacular to Latin was different from that on the Continent. As I discuss in Chapter 5, later and more generalized views of the relationship between Latin and English (as a vernacular) have impacted our reading of the *OEHE* in problematic ways. Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson articulate the received definition of 'vernacular':

> As its derivation from the Latin *vernacularis* (of a slave) suggests, the term [vernacular] describes a subaltern or local language or style, one accessible to a particular, generally non-elite group. In this sense, 'vernacular' is often associated (negatively or positively) with the vulgar, the provincial, the rustic, the rudimentary, the natural or the carnal, and sometimes more specifically with a social underclass, or with women.[1]

The subaltern, negative associations outlined here by Somerset and Watson not only describe attitudes toward the vernacular, but reflect ways in which the *OEHE* has been treated as inferior and secondary. At the same time, they provide a context for rethinking the ways in which the *OEHE*'s status as an early English translation creates space in which to reassess the connection between language, conversion, gender and ethnicity in the text.

The repetition of patterns of conversion appear in sharper relief in the pared-down English version of the text, allowing a close comparison of source and translation, illuminated by developments in our understanding of the archaeological and historical record, to historicize Bede's authoritative narrative. This, in turn provides revisionist possibilities for reading Bede's treatment of scenes of language contact, which usually also involve issues of gender and ethnicity. While the *OEHE* does not add new information about the role of women, the British or the Irish in its account of the conversion of the English, it nevertheless reveals the extent to which Bede's focus on the universal mission of the Church causes him to concentrate on the roles of Roman bishops in his story of the conversion of the English at the expense of most of the other agents of conversion. The repositioning of the *Libellus Responsionum* in the English version also pulls these issues forward rather literally. The Thorney Glossator's attention to the *Libellus Responsionum* also emphasizes the fact that the text was being read for practical, and possibly pastoral, purposes.

Combined with these revisionist ideas, Bede's inclusion of English place-names and the tensions that inhere in the differences between the 'here and now' of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the 'here and now' of the *OEHE* led me

[1] Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson, 'Introduction' to *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity*, ed. F. Somerset and N. Watson (University City, PA, 2003), p. ix.

to rethink and develop my ideas about the otherworldly visions in the *OEHE*. If Bede himself was careful to discuss revelations of individual judgment and to avoid any projection of the End, the complete and carefully crafted English versions of the visions of Fursey, Dryhthelm, the despairing thane and the drunken brother become increasingly focused on the proximity of the Otherworld to early England. Indeed, without Bede's excerpts from Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*, Book V of the *OEHE* becomes even more powerfully eschatological and local.

In this context, the focus of many Anglo-Saxon, post-Norman and later-medieval readers on Dryhthelm's vision becomes unsurprising. The fact that his vision was not only separately anthologized, but also annotated, glossed or decorated in every *OEHE* manuscript in which it survives – and even neumed for oral performance in B – marks the high degree to which this penitential, visionary vernacular episode was valued by medieval readers. The neumations and annotations to this episode can also be read as marking the radical differences between medieval and modern sensibilities in relation to the *OEHE* as a historical text. Notions of authority, textuality and translation have changed over time. Returning to the manuscripts of the *OEHE* to look carefully at these changes and what they reveal about the history and reception of that text not only challenges received notions about the *OEHE*, but also about Bede, his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and – as a consequence of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*'s fundamental importance – about the very models upon which modern Western notions of history are founded.

Appendix I

Summary of the Chapters and Chapter-Breaks in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* v. Chapters and Chapter-Breaks in the *OEHE*

Book I *Historia Ecclesiastica*	**Book I *OEHE***
1. Situation of Britain and Ireland; first inhabitants	0. Situation of Britain
—	1. Languages in Britain, first inhabitants; Ireland
2. Gaius Julius first Roman to visit Britain	2. Gaius Julius comes (three lines)
3. Claudius and Vespasian	3. Claudius, Vespasian, Nero
4. King Lucius of Britain's request to become Christian	4. King Lucius of Britain's request to become Christian
5. Severus' rampart	5. Severus' rampart
6. Diocletian's persecutions	6. Diocletian's persecutions
7. St. Alban	7. St. Alban
8. Peace after Diocletian until the Arian heresy	8. Peace after Diocletian until the Arian heresy
9. Gratian, Maximus takes large army of Britons to Gaul	—
10. Introduction of the Pelagian heresy	—
11. Goths in Rome, end of Roman rule in Britain.	9. Goths in Rome, end of Roman rule in Britain. Irish and Picts attack Britain. Roman help with wall.
12. Britons attacked by Irish and Picts, Romans come to help build a wall.	—
13. Reign of Theodosius the younger, Britons make plea to Aetius for help. Famine in Constantinople	10. Theodosius, Britons make plea to Aetius.
14. Britons, desperate from famine, drive out the barbarians. Peace leads to riotous living, pestilence, and doom.	11. Famine in Constantinople. Britons, desperate from famine, drive out the barbarians. Peace leads to riotous living, pestilence, and doom.

15. How the Angles were invited to Britain, and turned against their hosts.	12. How the Angles were invited to Britain, and turned against their hosts. Success under Ambrosius.
16. British victory under Ambrosius	—
17. Germanus comes to refute the Pelagians	—
18. Germanus heals a blind girl, visits Alban's relics	—
19. Germanus' trial of sickness	—
20. Germanus and the 'Alleluia victory'	—
21. Pestilence of Pelagianism returns, as does Germanus, to refute it again.	—
22. Britons wear themselves out by civil wars, and committed other heinous crimes	—
23. Pope Gregory sends Augustine a letter encouraging him to persevere.	13. Pope Gregory sends Augustine, letter mentioned, not included.
24. Letter from Gregory to the bishop of Arles	—
25. Augustine comes to Kent	14. Augustine comes to Kent
26. Augustine following traditions of early Church	15. Augustine following traditions of early Church
27. Augustine made bishop in Arles, Gregory's Libellus Responsionum (full text included)	16. Augustine made bishop in Arles. Gregory sends ministers, pallium, and letters (mentioned, not included).
28. Gregory writes to the bishop of Arles asking him to help Augustine	—
29. Gregory sends pallium, ministers, and letters to Augustine	—
30. Letter from Gregory to Mellitus	—
31. Letter to Augustine about his miracles	—
32. Letters to King Æthelbert	—
33. Augustine repairs church of the Savior	17. Augustine repairs church of the Savior
34. Æthelfrith defeats Irish in Northumbria.	18. æthelfrith defeats Irish in Northumbria.
Book II *Historia Ecclesiastica*	**Book II *OEHE***
1. Concerning the death of Gregory	1. Shorter version about Gregory (no poem)
2. Meeting at Augustine's Oak warns British bishops, miracle; vengeance	2. Meeting at Augustine's Oak, warning, vengeance
3. Mellitus and Justus consecrated; death of Augustine	3. Mellitus and Justus consecrated; death of Augustine
4. Laurence succeeds Augustine, his letter to the Irish about unity of Church, Mellitus goes to Rome	4. Laurence succeeds Augustine, warning mentioned (letter omitted), Mellitus goes to Rome

5. Æthelbert and Sæberht die, idolatry; Mellitus and Justus leave	5. Æthelbert and Sæberht die, idiolatry; Mellitus and Justus leave
6. Laurence's vision of Peter, conversion of Eadbald, return of Mellitus and Justus	6. Laurence's vision of Peter, conversion of Eadbald, return of Mellitus and Justus
7. Mellitus extinguishes flames with prayers	7. Mellitus extinguishes flames with prayers, dies; Justus succeeds him, Boniface gives authority (no mention of letter)
8. Boniface sends pallium and letter (included) to Justus	—
9. King Edwin's marriage, process of conversion begins	8. King Edwin's marriage, process of conversion begins
10. Boniface's letter to Edwin	—
11. Boniface sends letter to Edwin's wife	—
12. Edwin's vision from his exile	9. Papal letter to Edwin mentioned; Edwin's vision
13. Edwin's council, desecration of pagan altars	10. Edwin's council, desecration of pagan altars
14. Edwin converts, Paulinus baptizes him and his people	11. Edwin converts, Paulinus baptizes him and his people
15. Conversion of East Angles	12. Conversion of East Angles
16. Paulinus preaches in Lindsey; Edwin's peace	13. Paulinus preaches in Lindsey
—	14. Edwin's Peace; brief summary of Honorius' sending pallium and letter to Paulinus
17. Honorius' letter to Edwin, sends Paulinus a pallium	—
18. Pope Honorius sends letter (included) and pallium to archbishop of Canterbury, also Honorius	15. Honorius sends pallium and letter to Honorius – summary
19. Letters from Pope Honorius and Pope John to the Irish about Easter and the Pelagian heresy	—
20. After Edwin is killed, Paulinus returned to Kent and became bishop of Rochester	16. Death of Edwin; Paulinus to Kent

Book III ***Historia Ecclesiastica***	**Book III** ***OEHE***
1. Edwin's successors lapse; Oswald restores Christianity to Northumbria	1. Edwin's successors lapse; Oswald restores Christianity; miracles of Oswald's cross
2. Miracles of Oswald's cross	—
3. Aidan sent to Oswald; Oswald grants him Lindisfarne; the Church has successes, a bit about Iona	2. Aidan sent to Oswald; Oswald grants him Lindisfarne; the Church has successes; a bit about Iona

4. Picts receive Christianity via Columba, more on Iona about Easter	—
5. Life of Aidan	3. Life of Aidan
6. About the religion and devotion of Oswald	4. About the religion and devotion of Oswald
7. Birinus converts West Saxons; Agilbert and Leuthere	5. Birinus, Agilbert, Leuthere
8. Eorcenberht, king of Kent, destroys idols; Eorcengota and Æthelburh, virgins dedicated to God	6. Eorcenberht and the virgins
9. Miracles at the place of Oswald's death	7. Miracles at the place of Oswald's death
10. Miraculous cures by the soil from the place of Oswald's death	8. Miraculous cures by the soil from the place of Oswald's death
11. Heavenly beacon signals Oswald's relics	9. Heavenly beacon signals Oswald's relics
12. Little boy cured at Oswald's tomb	10 Little boy cured at Oswald's tomb.
13. Spread of fame; Irish man cured by Oswald's relics	11. Spread of fame; Irish man cured by Oswald's relics
14. Death of Paulinus, Ithamar bishop of Rochester; humility of King Oswine and his murder	12. Death of Paulinus, Ithamar; Oswini's humility and murder
15. Bishop Aidan foretells tempest, calms storm	13. Bishop Aidan foretells tempest, calms storm
16. Aidan's prayers drive away fire	14.* Aidan's prayers drive away fire
17. Miracle of Aidan about his spiritual life	15 (14). Miracle of Aidan; about his spiritual life
18. Life and death of Sigeberht	16 (14). Life and death of Sigeberht
19. Fursey's vision; uncorrupt body after death	17 (14). Fursey's vision; uncorrupt body after death
20. Death of Archbishop Honorius, Deusdedit succeeds; bishops of East Angles and Rochester	18. (14). Death of Archbishop Honorius, Deusdedit succeeds; bishops of East Angles and Rochester
21. Middle Angles convert under King Peada	19 (15). Middle Angles convert under Peada
22. Sigeberht/East Angles converted by Cedd	20(16). Sigeberht/East Angles converted by Cedd
23. Cedd consecrates monastery, his death	21 (17). Cedd consecrates monastery, his death
24. Conversion of Mercia, death of Penda, Oswiu founds monasteries	22 (18). Conversion of Mercia, death of Penda, Oswiu founds monasteries
25. Question of Easter arises with those who came from Ireland (Synod of Whitby)	—

* Alternate version in Z; see Chapter 1 and Table 2. Miller's chapter numbering is in parentheses here.

26. Colman was defeated; Tuda becomes bishop	—
27. Solar eclipse; Egbert's life as monk in Ireland	23 (19) Solar eclipse; Egbert's life as monk in Ireland
28. Wilfrid's consecration in Gaul; Chad's in Wessex	24 (20) Wilfrid and Chad's consecrations
29. Wigheard to Rome, letter from pope	25 (21) Wigheard to Rome, no letter
30. East Saxons turn to idolatry during plague, restored to faith by Jaruman.	26 (22) Sighere and Sebbe, faith restored by Jaruman
—	27 Libellus Responsionum
Book IV *Historia Ecclesiastica*	**Book IV *OEHE***
1. Death of Deusdedit; Wigheard goes to Rome, death; Theodore and Hadrian.	1. Death of Deusdedit; Wigheard goes to Rome, his death; Theodore and Hadrian.
2. Theodore's visits in Britain, his school, consecration of bishops	2. Theodore's visits in Britain, his school, consecration of bishops
3. Chad appointed bishop of the Mercians; his life, death, and burial	3. Chad appointed bishop of the Mercians, his life etc.
4. Bishop Colman leaves Britain, founds monasteries in Ireland	4. Colman leaves Britain, founds monasteries
5. Deaths of Oswiu and Egbert; Synod of Hertford	5. Death of Oswio, Synod of Hertford
—	6. Death of Ecgbert; Ecce and Beadowine consecrated bishops of the East Angles
6. Winfrid of Mercia deposed, Seaxwulf takes places; Eorcenwold made bishop of East Saxons	7. Winfrid of Mercia deposed, Seaxwulf takes places; Eorcenwold made bishop of East Saxons
7. Heavenly light at Barking	8. Heavenly light at Barking
8. Little boy's vision at Barking	9. Little boy's vision at Barking
—	10. Unnamed nun has a vision of light at Barking
9. Tortgyth's visions at Barking; healing of another nun's vision and bodily infirmity at the tomb of the Abbess Æthelburg	11. Tortgyth's first vision (Æthelburg's death); another nun's prayer for release from her bodily infirmity at the tomb of the Abbess Æthelburg (i.e., her death)
—	12. Tortgyth's next vision and miracles (speech restored)
10. Hildeleth takes over as abbess at Barking; blind woman cured at Barking	13. Hildelid takes over as abbess, blind woman cured at Barking
11. Death of Sebbi and his miracle	14. Death of Sebbi and his miracle

12. Leuthere dies, Hædde becomes bishop of West Saxons; Æthelred of Mercia devastates Kent and Rochester, bishops of Rochester and Northumbria	15. Leuthere dies, Hedde consecrated
—	16. Æthelred devastates Kent etc. bishops of Northumbria
13. Wilfrid expelled, converts South Saxons	17. Wilfrid expelled, converts south Saxons; of Cædwalla, exiled prince of the Gewisse.
14. Saxon boy cured through intercession of Oswald, (not in C branch of Latin mss)	—
15. of Cædwalla, exiled prince of the Gewisse	—
16. (14) Isle of Wight receives Christian settlers; princes put to death after conversion	18. Isle of Wight, two martyrs
17. (15) Synod of Hatfield (quotes from book)	19. Synod of Hatfield (no quotes)
18. (16) about John	20. About John
19. (17) about Æthelthryth	21. About Æthelthryth
20. (18) hymn to Æthelthryth	—
21. (19) Theodore makes peace between Ecgfrith and Æthelred	22. Theodore makes peace between Ecgfrith and Æthelred
22. (20) Imma	23. Imma
23. (21) The life and death of Abbess Hild	24. Hild
24. (22) Cædmon	25. Cædmon
25. (23) vision at Coldingham	26. Vision at Coldingham
26. (24) deaths of Ecgfrith and Hlothhere; fortunes of English ebb	27. deaths of Ecgfrith and Hlothhere; fortunes of English ebb
27. (25) Cuthbert made bishop, how he lived	28. Cuthbert made bishop
28. (26) Cuthbert's miracles as a hermit	29. Cuthbert's miracles as a hermit
29. (27) Cuthbert predicts his own death	30. Cuthbert predicts his own death
30. (28) Cuthbert's body found free from corruption 11 years later	31. Cuthbert's body found free from corruption
29. (31) man's paralysis healed at Cuthbert's tomb	32. man's paralysis healed at Cuthbert's tomb
30. (32) man's eye (tumor on eyelid) healed at Cuthbert's shrine	33. man's eye (tumor on eyelid) healed at Cuthbert's shrine

Book V ***Historia Ecclesiastica***	**Book V** ***OEHE***
1. Æðelwald calms storm	1. Æðelwald calms storm
2. Bishop John cures dumb man	2. Bishop John cures dumb man
3. Bishop John cures sick girl (daughter of an abbess)	3. Bishop John cures sick girl (daughter of an abbess)
4. Bishop John cures sick wife of a gesith	4. Bishop John cures sick wife of a gesith

5. Bishop John cures sick servant of a gesith	5. Bishop John cures sick attendant of a gesith
6. Bishop John saves Herebald from death	6. Bishop John saves Herebald from death
7. Cædwalla goes to Rome (Ine too)	7. Cædwalla goes to Rome (Ine too)
8. Theodore dies, Berhtwold becomes archbishop; Tobias appointed in Rochester	8. Theodore dies, Berhtwold becomes archbishop; Tobias appointed in Rochester
9. Egbert wants to preach abroad but is prevented; Wihtbert goes, but returns	9. Egbert wants to preach abroad but is prevented; Wihtbert goes, but returns
10. Willibrord preaches in Frisia; martyrdoms of the two Heawalds	10. Willibrord preaches in Frisia;
11. Willibrord, Swithbert made bishops of Frisia	11. Martyrdoms of the two Heawalds
—	12. Willibrord, Swithbert made bishops of Frisia
12. Dryhthelm rises from dead; vision	13. Dryhthelm rises from dead; vision
13. Another thane is shown book by devils	14. Another thane shown book by devils
14. A drunken monk sees the place of punishment appointed for him in hell	15. A drunken monk sees the place of punishment appointed for him in hell
15. Adomnan gets the Irish Churches, to accept the Roman Easter; from Adomnan's book about the Holy Land	—
16. Book of Holy Places: place of Christ's birth, passion and resurrection	—
17. Place of Christ's ascension and the tombs of the patriarchs	—
18. On the bishops of the South and West Saxons get and Aldhelm's writings	16. On the bishops of the South and West Saxons get and Aldhelm's writings
19. Kings Cenred and Offa end lives in monasteries in Rome; Life/Death of Wilfrid	17. Kings Cenred and Offa end lives in monasteries in Rome; Life/Death of Wilfrid
20. Albinus succeeds Hadrian; Acca succeeds Wilfrid	18. Albinus succeeds Hadrian; Acca succeeds Wilfrid
21. Ceolfrith sends churchbuilders and a long letter about Easter and the tonsure to the king of the Picts (letter included)	19. Ceolfrith sends churchbuilders and a long letter about Easter and the tonsure to the king of the Picts (letter summarized in brief)
22. Egbert converts Iona and its subject monasteries to the Catholic Easter	20. Egbert converts Iona and its subject monasteries to the Catholic Easter
23. Present state of English and Britain	21. State of England in and around 725
24. Chronological summary; about the author	22. State of England in 731; about the author

Appendix II

Forms of ‘Ongolþeode’ and ‘Angelcyn’ in the *OEHE*

Book.ch.	page/line in Miller	MS	term/phrase in OE	Variants in O	Variants in B	Variants in Ca	Variants in C (and Zu)
Pref.	2/3	Ca	angelþeode ⁊ seaxum				
Pref.	2/17	Ca	on angelcynne				
Pref.	4/2	Ca	angelcyn		angelcynn		
Ch. Headings	8/9	Ca	angelðeod		ongelþeod		
Ch. Headings	8/13	Ca	angelðeode				
Ch. Headings	10/2	Ca	angelðeode		on angelðeode		
Ch. Headings	10/23	Ca	angelðeode				
Ch. Headings	16/15	Ca	angelcynnes cynne		angelcinnes cynne		
Ch. Headings	16/33–17/1	Ca	angelcynnes cyricean				
Ch. Headings	18/8	Ca	engliscan		engliscum		
Ch. Headings	24/27	Ca	angelcynnes þeode				

Book.ch.	page/line in Miller	MS	term/phrase in OE	Variants in O	Variants in B	Variants in Ca	Variants in C (and Zu)
I.1	26/30	Ca	angolcynnes gereorde		angelcynnes gereord		
I.7	40/23	Ca	angelðeode		engla ðeode		
I.12	50/20	Ca	Angel þeode ⁊ seaxna		ðeod ⁊ sexna		
I.12	54/19	T	ongolcynne		angelcinne	angel-	
I.12	54/20	T	ongolcynnes		angelcynnes	angel-	
I.13	54/29	T	ongolcynnes		angelcynnes	angel-	
I.13	54/32	T	ongolþeode		angelðeode	angel-	
I.14	56/27	Ca	suðfolc angelþeode ⁊ norðfolc				
I.14	56/28–9	O	angelcynnes				
I.14	60/4	T	ongolþeode	angel-	angelþeode	angel-	
I.16	62/29	T	ongolþeode	ongel	angelðeode	angel-	Zu: ongolðiode
Libellus Responsionum	64/1	T	ongelþeod	angel	angelðeod	angel-	
Libellus Responsionum	64/20	T	ongolcirican	ongelcyricean	angelcyriciu(m)	óngel cyricean	
Libellus Responsionum	66/22	T	in ongolðeode cirican	ongel-	angelþeode	angel-	
Libellus Responsionum	66/27	T	on ongolþeode	in angel-	angelþeode	on angolðeode	

Book.ch.	page/line in Miller	MS	term/phrase in OE	Variants in O	Variants in B	Variants in Ca	Variants in C (and Zu)
Libellus Responsionum	70/24	T	on ongelðeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	
Libellus Responsionum	72/13	T	in ongolcirican	ongel cyricean	angelcirican	ongel ciricean	
Libellus Responsionum	74/21	T	ðeode ongolcynnes	ðeode ongel-	angelcynnes		
I.18	92/4–5	T	allum ongolcynnum	angelcynnu(m)	angelcynnu(m)	angel-	
I.18	92/10	T	ongolþeode				
I.18	92/25	O	angelþeode				
II.1	94/23	O	ongle			angle-	
II.1	96/22	T	ongle	engle	angle	engle-	
II.1	98/1	T	ongolþeode	angelþeode	angelðeode	angelþeode	
II.1	98/12	T	ongolcynne	angel-	angelcynne	angelcynne	
II.2	98/19	T	ongolþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	
II.2	100/3	T	of ongolcynne	angel-	angelcinne	angel-	
II.2	102/14	T	ongolþeode	angel-	angelþeode	angel-	
II.2	102/23	T	ongolcynne	angel-	angelcinne	angel-	
II.2	102/27–8	T	ongla cyning	engla-	cining angelcinnes	engla-	
II.4	106/28	T	ongolcynne	angel-	angelcynne	angel-	
II.4	108/8	T	ongolciricum	angelcyricean	angelcyricean	angelcyricean	

Book.ch.	page/line in Miller	MS	term/phrase in OE	Variants in O	Variants in B	Variants in Ca	Variants in C (and Zu)
II.4	108/16	T	ongolciricum	angelcyricum	angelðeode ciricum	angelcyrican	
II.4	108/19	T	ongolþeode	angel-	angelþeode	angelþeode	
II.5	108/23	T	ongolþeode	angel-	angelðeode	angel-	
II.5	108/26	T	ongolþeode cyningum	angelþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	
II.5	110/2	T	ongolcynnes rice	angel-	angelcynnes	angel cynnes rice	
II.5	110/12	T	on englisc gewritan				
II.5	110/20	T	ongolcynnes	angelcynne	angelcynnes	angelcynne	
II.7	116/27	T	ongolciricean		angelcyrican		ongelcyrcan (CW)
II.9	120/2	T	ongolcynna	angelcyninga	angelkynna	angelcyninga	
II.9	120/3–4	T	męgðe ongolcynnes	angelcynnes	angelkynnes	angelcynnes	
II.9	120/5	T	ongolcynnes rice	angelcynnes	angelkynnes	angelcynnes	
II.16	146/27	T	ongolþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	angelðeode	
II.16	148/21–2	T	eall ongolcyn	angel-	angelcynn	angolcyn	
II.16	148/25	T	ongolcynnes	angel-	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	
III.1	154/17	T	ongle	engle	angle	engle	
III.2	156/8	T	on englisc				
III.2	158/10	T	ongolðeode	o>angle	angelðeode	angelðeode	
III.2	158/20	T	englisc				

Book.ch.	page/line in Miller	MS	term/phrase in OE	Variants in O	Variants in B	Variants in Ca	Variants in C (and Zu)
III.2	158/24	O	maegðum angel þeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	
III.2	158/27–8	O	angelcynnes folc				
III.3	160/7	O	to angelþeode			angolðeode	
III.3	162/24	T	ongolþeode	angel-	angelðeode	angelþeode	
III.3	164/12	T	ongol cynne	ongelcynne	angelcynne	angel-	
III.4	164/19	T	ongolþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	
III.4	164/25	T	ongla	angla	angle	angla	
III.5	166/26	T	ongolcynnes	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	
III.6	172/7	T	ongolcyninga	angelcyninga	angelcyninga	angelcyninga	
III.6	172/15	T	ongolþeode	angelþeode		angelðeode	
III.7	176/24	T	ongelcyninga	angelcynin,\ga/	angelcyninga	angelcyninga	
III.14	210/24	T	on englisc				
III.15	222/11	T	englisce				
III.15	224/4	T	englisces cynnes				
III.18	238/16	T	in englum		enlum	on e,\n/glum	in englu(m)
III.18	238/18	T	ongolcynnes	o>angel-	angelcynnes	ongolcynnes	ongolcynnes
III.18	238/31	T	ongolcynnes rice	ongel	angelcynnes	ongelcynnes	onglecynnes
III.19	240/32	T	ongelþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	
III.19	242/10	T	ongolþeoðe	ongelðeode	angleþeode	angelþeode	

Book.ch.	page/line in Miller	MS	term/phrase in OE	Variants in O	Variants in B	Variants in Ca	Variants in C (and Zu)
III.20	246/30	T	ongolcynnes ciricum	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	ongelcynnes
III.20	246/32–3	T	ongle		angle	angle	ongle
III.21	248/3	T	ongolcyningas	ongelcyn, \i/ngas	angelcyningas	ongle-	ongel-
III.21	248/5	T	ongolcynnas cirican	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	angel-	ongel-
III.21	248/9	T	ongolþeode	ongelþeode	angelþeode	ongel	ongelðeode
III.21	248/13	T	ongolcynnes ciricum	angelcynnes	angelcinnes ðeode	angel-	ongelcynnes
IV.1	252/13–4	T	of ongolcynne	angel-	angelcynne	angel-	
IV.1	252/16–7	T	ongolcynnes ciricum	angel-	angelcynnes	angel-	
IV.1	252/24	T	ongolðeode ciricum	angelðeode	angelþeode	angolþeodes	
IV.1	254/29	T	in ongolcynnes cirican	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	
IV.2	258/6	T	ongolþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	
IV.2	258/10	T	eall ongolcyn	ongel-	angelcynn	angel-	
IV.2	258/19	T	ongolcyn	angel cynn	angelcynn	angelcynne	
IV.2	258/26	T	cirican ongolcynnes	angelcynes	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	
IV.2	258/30	T	ongolþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	angelðeode	
IV.2	258/31	T	ongolcynnes ciricum	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	angelcynnes ciricean	
IV.2	258/32	T	eall ongolcynnes maegðe	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	
IV.4	272/21–2	T	of ongolþeode	angelþeode	angelþeode	angelðeode	

Book.ch.	page/line in Miller	MS	term/phrase in OE	Variants in O	Variants in B	Variants in Ca	Variants in C (and Zu)
IV.4	272/24–5	T	ongolþeode	ongelþeode	angelþeode	angolðeode	
IV.4	274/4	T	ongle	engle	angel	engle	
IV.4	274/14	T	englescan men	engliscean	englisscan	engliscan	
IV.4	274/15	T	englisce men	englisce			
IV.4	274/19	T	ongolcynne	angelcynne	angelcynne	angelcynne	
IV.18	300/21	T	ongolcynrice	ongelcynnes	angelcynne	angelcynnes	óngelcynnes
IV.18	306/28	T	ongolcynnes eahte	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	. . .el cynnes
IV.19	310/5	T	ongolþeode cirican	angelþeode	angelþeode	angelþeodes	ongel ðeode
IV.20	314/28	T	ongolcynnes cirice	angelcynnes	angelcynnes rice	angelcynnes	
IV.20	316/6	T	ongelcirican	ang,\el/cyricean	angelcyrican	angelcyricean	
IV.24	332/28	T	in englisc				
IV.25	342/8	T	engliscgereorde				
IV.25	342/12	T	in ongelþeode	ongelþeode	on angelðeode	angolðeode	
IV.27	356/21	T	ongolcynne	angelcynne		angelcynne	
IV.27	358/13	T	ongolcynnes rices	angelcynnes	angelcynnes	angelcynnes rices	
IV.27	358/17	T	ongelþeode		angelþeode	ongelðeode	
IV.27	358/21	T	engla londe				
IV.27	358/21–2	T	engla lond				
IV.28	362/23	T	ongolcynnes folcum	ðeaw angelcynnes	ðeaw angelcynnes	ðeau ongelcynne	ðeaw ongolcynnes

Book.ch.	page/line in Miller	MS	term/phrase in OE	Variants in O	Variants in B	Variants in Ca	Variants in C (and Zu)
V.7	406/16	T	ongelcynne æðele		angelcynne	angolcynne	
V.8	406/29	T	ongolcynnes cirican		angelcynnes	angelcynne	
V.8	408/13–4	T	in englisc				
V.9	408/22	T	ðonon ongle ⁊ seaxan[1]	engle ⁊ seaxan	engle	engle	
V.11	414/15–6	T	of ongolcynne	angelcynne	angelcynne	angelcynne	
V.17	452/30	O	angellþeode		angelþeode	angelþeode	
V.17	456/4	O	angelþeode		angelðeode	angelðeode	
V.17	460/15	O	angellðeodum	angellðeodu(m)	angelþeodu(m)	angelðeodu(m)	
V.17	460/30–1	O	ongelcyningum		angelcyningum		
V.22	466/2	O	englisc		englisc		
V.19	468/10	O	angolþeode		angelðyode		ongelþeode
V.19	470/9	O	angolþeode		angelþeode		ongelþeode
V.20	472/17	O	angelfolcum		angelfolc		
V.20	472/18	O	angelþeode		angelðeode		
V.20	472/20	Ca	angelcynne				
V.20	472/21	Ca	angelfolcum		angelfolcum		
V.20	472/29	C	ongelþeode		angelþeode	angelðeode	
V.22	478/30	C	ongolþeode		angelþeode	angelþeode	
V.22	480/1	C	ongolþeode		angelþeode	angelðeode	

Book.ch.	page/line in Miller	MS	term/phrase in OE	Variants in O	Variants in B	Variants in Ca	Variants in C (and Zu)
V.22	480/2	C	ongelþeode		angelþeode		
V.22	480/7	C	ongelcynnes þeowdome		angelcynnes	angelcynnes	
V.22	480/15	C	ongolcynnes		angelcynnes	angelcynnes	
V.22	480/20	C	ongelþiode cirican		angelþeode cyrican	angelþeodes cyricean	

[1] This passage refers to the Continental tribes.

Appendix III

Glosses in T

Glossed passages of the Old English text in T are given below, designated **T** with folio and line numbers following, e.g., T 1r/22–3. Glosses in T are given above the line of text in italics. The corresponding Latin text is given below the line from the Colgrave and Mynors edition of Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, designated *HE* with book and chapter followed by page references, e.g., *HE* I.23, p. 68. Where appropriate, glosses from the Old English text in Ca are given below the line of text in italics, designated **Ca** with folio and line numbers following, e.g., Ca 25r/7.

i· aput[1]
T 1r/22–3 ÞA WÆS Æfter FORÐ | yrnendre tide ymb fif hund wintra |
***HE* I.23, p. 68**

i i(n)spiratio *xiiii*
T 1v/6 Se wæs mid godcundre inbryrdnesse monad · þy feowerteg |
***HE* I.23, p. 68** qui diuino admonitus instinctu

anno
T 1v/7 ðan geare þæs ylcan caseres ymb fiftig wintra ⁊hund |
***HE* I.23, p. 68** anno

i p(rae)dicare *genti*
T 1v/10 hine drihten ondrede bodian godes word ongol þeode · þa |
***HE* I.23, p. 68** praedicare genti

·i· obediaba(n)t *illi* *i iussu(m)* *i memorat(um)*
T 1v/11–12 hyrsumodon heo þæs biscopes bebodum to þæm gemynd - | gedan
***HE* I.23, p. 68** obtemperantes iussis memoratum

Also, in the right margin of T at 1v/11: \\ *·i· obte(m)p(er)aba(n)t*//

1 The glossator usually signals each gloss with *·i·*, for 'id est', though he is inconsistent, especially with the pointing. In many instances, these indicators are so hasty as to appear horizontal or like carats.

i opus *i agredi* [sic] *i c(o)epissent* *aliqu(an)tulu(m)*
T 1v/12 weorce · ⁊feran ongunnon ⁊sumne dæl þæs weges |
***HE* I.23, p. 68** opus adgredi coepissent aliquantulum
Ca, 15r/7 *ire* *cepiiot (the 'p' is crossed, the 'o' is above the 2nd 'i')*

illi *i· pauere*
T 1v/13 gefaren hæfdon · ða ongunnon heo forhtigan ·⁊ondredan |
***HE* I.23, p. 68** perculsi timore

i diu'inis
T 1v/14 him þone siðfæt · ⁊þohton þæt him wislicra ⁊gehæledra |
Ca, 15r/9 *via'*

domu(m) redire *i barbaram*
T 1v/15 wære · þæt heo ma ham cerdon. þonne heoþa elreordan |
***HE* I.23, p. 68** redire domum barbaram

i incredula(m)
T 1v/16 þeode ⁊þa reðan. ⁊þa ungeleaf suman · þara þe heo furðu(m) |
***HE* I.23, p. 68** incredulam

i linguam
T 1v/17 gereorde ne cuþon · gesecan scolde. ⁊þis gemænelice him |
***HE* I.23, p. 68** linguam

i decerneba(n)t
T 1v/18 to ræde gecuron · ond þa sona sendon agustinum · to þæm |
***HE* I.23, p. 68** decernebant

debere in ta(m) p(er)iculosam iter
T 1v/21 þingian · þæt heo ne þorfte in swa frecne siðfæt ⁊ in swa |
***HE* I.23, p. 68** ne tam periculosam

laborosa(m) *inc(er)tam*
T 1v/22 gewinfulne ⁊ in swa uncuðe. el þeodignesse faran · þa |
***HE* I.23, p. 68** laboriosam incertam . . . debere

i exhortas
T 1v/23 sende scs gregorius ærend gewrit him to ⁊heo trymede |

i co(n)fisos *adiutorio*
T 1v/25 weorc þæs godes wordes ⁊ getreowde in godes fultum ·⁊þæt |
***HE* I.23, p. 68** confisos

i t(er)rere
T 1v/26 heo ne fyrhte · þæt gewiin þæs sið fætes · ne wyrg cweodulra |

	i dato
T 2r/1	monna tungan · ne ǀ
	-ara
T 2v/3	forgeafon oð þæt
	i assencis
T 3r/4	þafian · þæt we forleten þa wisan þe we longre tide · ǀ
***HE* I.25, p. 74**	adsensum
	i co(mmun)icare
T 3r/8	willadon us þa gemænsuman · nellað wa forðon ǀ
***HE* I.25, p. 74**	communicare
	i benigne
T 3r/9	eow hefige beon ac we willað eow eac fremsumlice · ǀ
***HE* I.25, p. 74**	benigno
	i imitari [**]
T 3v/5	on hyrgan þæt is hi singalum gebedu(m) ·⁊inwæccum ⁊in ǀ
***HE* I.26, p. 76**	imitari assiduis
	i sp(er)nendo
T 3v/8	geardes swa fremde forhogodon · ða þing aan ða ðe ǀ
***HE* I.26, p. 76**	spernendo
	i si(m)plicitas *i i(n)noce(n)cia*
T 3v/15–16	wæron · wæron wundriende þa bilwitnesse þæs unsceð ǀ þendan lifes
***HE* I.26, p. 76**	simplicitatem innocentis
	i (con)uenir(e)
T 3v/21–2	þa halgan la ǀ reo wæs · ongunnan heo somnian · ⁊singan ⁊gebiddan · ⁊ ǀ
***HE* I.26, p. 76**	conuenire
	lice(n)tia(m)
T 3v/24	to geleafan gecyrd[e/\re/] wæs ·⁊maran leafnisse onfeng ǀ
***HE* I.26, p. 76**	licentiam
	i delectas
T 4r/2	oþre ongon lustfullian · þæt clænoste lif haligra · ⁊ ǀ
***HE* I.26, p. 76**	delectatus
	p(ro)missis *i firmau(eru)nt*
T 4r/3	heora þam swetestan gehatum · ond heo eac getrymedon ǀ
***HE* I.26, p. 76**	promissis firmauerunt

i gaude'
T 4r/5 æt eownesse · ⁊ hy ða gefeonde wæs gefulwad þa ongunnon |

coge(ret)
T 4r/10–11 hwæðre nydde to cristes geleafan · ac ða ðe togeleafan · ⁊ |
***HE* I.26, p. 76** cogeret

·i· genite
T 6r/6 londe oðþe of hwylcre þeode hy brohte wæron ·
***HE* II.1, p. 132** de qua regione uel terra essent adlati
Ca, 31/14 *brohte wæron: comen*

i incole *i facies*
T 6r/8 te wæron · ond þæs ealondes bigengan swelcre onsyne |
***HE* II.1, p. 132** cuius incolae talis essent aspectus

i insulani
T 6r/9 · men wæron · eft he frægen hwæðer þa ilcan lond leode |
***HE* II.1, p. 132** insulani

i errorib(u)s ·
T 6r/10–11 cristne wæron · þe hi þa gen in hæðennes gedwolan |lifden ·
***HE* II.1, p. 132** erroribus

facies
T 6r/17–18 cwæð he wel þæt swa mæg | forðon heo ænlice onsyne habbað ·⁊ eac swylce ge |
***HE* II.1, p. 134** et angelicam habent faciem

i· decet *i coheredes*
T 6r/19 dafonað þæt heo engla æfen erfe weardas in heo |
***HE* II.1, p. 134** decet coheredes
Ca, fol.18r/22m *coh'eres*

i· p(ro)ui(n)cia ⌈wæron · |
T 6r/20–1 · and cwæð hwæt hat | te se mægð · þe ða cneohtas hider of lædde
***HE* II.1, p. 134** prouinciales

i eruti
T 6r/24 heo sculon of godes yrre beon · abrogdene and to cris | tes
***HE* II.1, p. 134** eruti

·i· misericord(iam) i· vocati *i interrogavit*
T 6r/25–6 -tes · mild heortnesse · gecegde · ða gyt he ahsode | hwæt heora cyning haten
***HE* II.1, p. 134** misericordiam Christi vocati

	i doctores
T 6v/7	on sende in breotone · hwelce hwego lareowas þætte ǀ
***HE* II.1, p. 134**	ministros
	i co(n)u(er)teret(ur)
T 6v/8	þurh þa heo to criste gecyrrede wæron ond cwæd þæt ǀ
***HE* II.1, p. 134**	conuerteretur
	i adiutorio
T 6v/9	he selfa geara wære mid godes fultome þæt weorc to ǀ
***HE* II.1, p. 134**	cooperante
	i nobilis
T 6v/12	þæt þafian · ne þa burg ware þon ma · þætte swa æðele ǀ wer
	i co(n)uocavit
T 6v/23	þæs cyninges · gelaðode to his spæce bretta ǀ
***HE* II.1, p. 134**	conuocauit
	i co(n)se(n)tis
T 7r/9–10	⁊ his geferena ǀ ænige þinga geþafian woldon · ac heo heora sylfra þea ǀ
***HE* II.2, p. 136**	uoluissent
	i fecit
T 7r/13–14	fæder agustinus þisses gewinnes · fullan geflites ende · ge ǀsette ⁊þus cwæð
***HE* II.2, p. 136**	finem fecit
	i p(re)ces *i op(er)atio*
T 7r/20	bene swa he gehæled sy · þisses geleafa and wyrcnis · seo ǀ
***HE* II.2, p. 136**	preces operatio
	i minist(er)io [***]
T 7r/25	heora segnunge onfeng þa æt nehstan wæs agustinus ǀ
***HE* II.2, p. 136**	ministerio
	i iusta *i necessitate*
T 7r/26	mid reohtre ned þearfnisse · gebæded aras and \ge/begde ǀ
***HE* II.2, p. 136**	iusta necessitate
	i p(rae)dicas
T 9r/9	to bodigende godcunde lare · þa seondon temese streame ǀ
***HE* II.3, p. 142**	praedicandum

***

T 15r/9	· sewæs þa contwara cyning ⁊ þisse fæmnan ǀ
***HE* II.9, p. 162**	regno

i astuto *i simulatu(m)* *i uolu\er/et*

T 16r/2–3 geswip\p/re muþe liccetende ærend wreahte ⁊lease fleose | wade þa astod he

***HE* II.9, p. 164** et cum simulatum legationem ore astuto uolueret

i undiq(ue)

T 16r/8–9 cyninges þegn · ⁊ þone cyning gewundade · þa wæs suma æghwo | nan · mid

***HE* II.9, p. 164** undique

i i(n)p(er)et(ur)

T 16r/9–10 hwæt þa gena · oðerne . cy|ninges þegn · in þæm ungerecce

***HE* II.9, p. 164** inpeteretur

·i· a(d)mota(que)

T 26r/23–4 he gefelde · cealdes æt his sidan licgan · cunnoða[2] mid his | hond

***HE* III.2, p. 218** admotaque

i· solet

T 36v/22–3 Forðon · acca ·|se arwyrða biscop · gewunode oft secgan

***HE* III.13, p. 252** solet

ossa

T 37r/1–2 in þære mægðe bi þæm wundrum þe æt þam banu(m) | þæs arwyrðan cyninges

***HE* III.13, p. 252** reliquas

adhuc

T 37r/2–3 gedon wæron · Swelce he eac sæg |de · se biscop mid þy he ða gena masse preoste

***HE* III.13, p. 252** adhuc

T 38r/6 \\De paulíno//

T 38r/9 \\Oswíus//

uoto

T 52r/10 ond he þa wæs mid gehate hine seolfne bindende

***HE* III.24, p. 290** uotoque

·i·co(n)uersent(ur)

T 58r/13–15 ÆREST · BI · BISCOPU(M) | hu hy mid heora geferum drohtian | ⁊ lifgan sculon

***HE* I.27, p. 78** conuersentur

[2] *OEHE* I:156 emends 'cunnoða' to 'connode'.

	·i· fidel
T 58r/15–16	oðþo in þam locum · ǀ geleafsumra þe heo to wigbedum ⁊ to ǀ
***HE* I.27, p. 78**	fidelium

	i specialit(er)i s(an)c(tu)s
T 58r/20	þæt þu gearwe const · ond synderlice þæs eadgan paules ǀ
***HE* I.27, p. 78**	specialiter beati

	·i· hortaba'
T 58r/22–3	geornlice · tydde ⁊lærde hu he in godes huse drohtiǀan ⁊don scolde
***HE* I.27, p. 80**	erudire studuit

	i p(rae)cepta i tr†ad†ere
T 58r/24	þonne heo biscopas halgiað þæt him bebodu sellað· ǀ
***HE* I.27, p. 80**	praecepta tradere

	·i stipe(n)diu' *i· accidit*
T 58r/25	ond þætte ealles þæs ondlifenes þe him gegonge · feower ǀ
***HE* I.27, p. 80**	stipendio accedit

	·i hosp'italitas ⌈cumena·
T 58v/1–2	an ærest biscope ⁊ his heorode for ǀ feorme ⁊ onfongnesse gæsta ⁊
***HE* I.27, p. 80**	hospitalitatem

	i n(un)c
T 58v/7–8	seo nu gen neowan is becumen ⁊ gelæded · to godes geleaǀfan
***HE* I.27, p. 80**	adhuc

	i initio *i nasce(n)tis*
T 58v/9	in fruman · þære acennendan · cirican · wæs ussum ǀ
***HE* I.27, p. 80**	initio nascentis

	necessaris
T 58v/17	-ruld good · syndrigum monnum · swa æghwylcum þearf ǀ

	i· stipe(n)diu(m)
T 58v/18	wæs · swylce eac be heora ondlifne · is to þencenne ⁊ to ǀ
***HE* I.27, p. 80**	stipendio

	i co(mmun)e
T 58v/23	clæne healden · þæm lifiendu(m) þonne ingemænum life ǀ
***HE* I.27, p. 80**	communi

	i exhibe(n)da
T 58v/25	oðþe gest liðnesse · bigonge ⁊ mildheortnesse fyllen ǀ
***HE* I.27, p. 80**	exhibenda

i solicite
T 59r/13–14 bi|hygdelice þæt geceose · ond in ongolðeode · cirican fæst |
***HE* I.27, p. 82** sollicet

res
T 59r/16 forðon ne seondon to lufienne · þa wiisan fore stowum · |
***HE* I.27, p. 82** res

·i· pia
T 59r/18 of syndrigum ciricum · gehwylcum þa ðe æfest ⁊ good ⁊ riht|
***HE* I.27, p. 82** pia

·i· pena
T 59r/21 Ic þec halsio hwylc wiite sceal þrowian swa hwylc swa hwæt|
***HE* I.27, p. 82** quid pati debeat

i p(er)sona
T 59r/23 Ðis mæg geþencan · þin broðorlicnes · of þæs þeofes hade |
***HE* I.27, p. 82** persona

i corrigi
T 59r/24 hu he geriht beon mægge · forðon sume syndon þa ðe |
***HE* I.27, p. 82** corrigi

i· p(er)p(e)trat
T 59r/25 habbað · woruld spede ·⁊ hwæðre stale fremmað sume |
***HE* I.27, p. 82** perpetrant

i hereditatem
T 59v/10 ⁊ wilniað him to ærfeweardu(m) |
***HE* I.27, p. 82** heredes

i co(m)munione
T 60v/9 to biscergenne · gemænsum |
***HE* I.27, p. 84** communione

i tolerat *i co(n)siderat(ione)m*
T 60v/14 aræfneð · sumu þurh sceawunge ældeð ·⁊ swa abireð ⁊ ældeð
***HE* I.27, p. 82** tolerat considerationem

i· (com) pescat
T 60v/15 þætte oft þæt wiðer worde · yfel abeorende ⁊ ældend bewereð · |
***HE* I.27, p. 82** compescat

T 87r/21–2	\\Ceadwalla reg// *(right margin)*
T 89r/24	\\De scô b(e)n(e)d(ic)to ꞁ Werm'// (right margin)
T 90r/13	De scâ aeltheldryda
T 95r/18	De scâ Hilda
T 104r/25–7	de scô Cutb(er)to
T 105v/2	De scô Cudberto
T 116v/12–13	Incipit vita scî Joh(an)îs archiep(iscop)i ꞁ de Beverlaco

Appendix IV

Table of Glosses

The following table presents in alphabetical order the Old English words and their Latin glosses from T. References to Old English text in T and the corresponding Latin text in the edition of Colgrave and Mynors follow the conventions established in Appendix I. Further references are provided to the Old English text in T as printed (without the glosses) in volume I of *OEHE*, designated with page and line numbers following; e.g., *OEHE* 96/28.

OE word	Latin Gloss	T	*HE*	*OEHE*
abrogdene	eruti	6r/24	134, II.1	96/28
acennendan	nasce(n)tis	58v/9	80, I.27	64/23
æðele	nobilis	6v/12	134, II.1	98/6
æfast	pia	59r/18	82, I.27	66/26
æfen erfeweardas	coheredes	6r/19	134, II.1	96/24
æghwo|nan	undiq’	16r/8–9	164, II.9	122/23
ærfeweardu(m)	hereditatem	59v/10	82, I.27	68/13
ahsode	interrogavit	6r/25	134, II.1	96/29
aræfneð	tolerat	60v/14	82, I.27	72/2
banu(m)	ossa	37r/1	252, III.13	190/2
bebodu	p(rae)cepta	58r/24	80, I.27	64/14
bebodum	iussu’	1v/11	68, I.23	54/32
bene	p(re)ces	7r/20	136, II.2	98/32
bewereð	(com)pescat	60v/15	82, I.27	72/3
bigengan	incole	6r/8	132, II.1	96/14
bigonge	exhibe(n)da	58v/25	80, I.27	66/9
bihygdelice	solicite	59r/14	82, I.27	66/22
bilwitnesse	si(m)plicitas	3v/15	76, I.26	62/1
bodian	p(rae)dicare	1v/10	68, I.23	54/31
bodigende	p(rae)dicas	9r/9	142, II.3	104/14
gecegde	vocati	6r/25	134, II.1	96/29
cerdon	redire	1v/15	68, I.23	56/4
cunnoða	a(d)mota’	26r/23	218, III.2	156/32
gecuran	decerneba(n)t	1v/17	68, I.23	56/6

OE word	Latin Gloss	T	*HE*	*OEHE*
cyning	?	15r/9	162, II.9	120/12
gecyrrede	co(n)u(er)teret'	6v/8	134, II.1	98/3
dafoneð	decet	6r/19	134, II.1	96/24
drohtian	co(n)uersent'	58r/14	78, I.27	64/6
gedwolan	errorib(u)s ·	6r/10	132, II.1	96/16
eadgan	scs'	58r/20	80, I.27	64/11
elreordan	barbaram	1v/15	68, I.23	56/4
gefeonde	gaude'	4r/5	76, I.26	62/13
feorme	hosp'italitas	58v/2	80, I.27	64/16
feowerteg	xiiii	1v/6	68, I.23	54/28
feran	agredi [sic]	1v/12	68, I.23	56/1
fleose l wade	uolu \ er/et	16r/2	164, II.9	122/17
forhogodon	sp(er)nendo	3v/8	76, I.26	60/26
forgeafon	. . .ara	2v/3	end of Bk 1	58/10
forhtigan	pauere	1v/13	68, I.23	56/2
frecne	p(er)iculosam	1v/21	68, I.23	56/9
fremmað	p(er)p(e)trat	59r/25	82, I.27	68/3
fremsumlice	benigne	3r/9	74, I.25	60/8
fultome	aduitorio	6v/9	134, II.1	98/4
fultum	adiutorio	1v/25	68, I.23	56/13
fyrhte	t(er)rere	1v/26	68, I.23	56/13
geare	anno	1v/7	68, I.23	54/28
gena	adhuc	37r/3	252, III.13	190/4
gegonge	accidit	58r/25	80, I.27	64/15
hade	p(er)sona	59r/23	82, I.27	68/1
gehæledra	diuinis	1v/14	68, I.23	56/3
ham	domu'	1v/15	68, I.23	56/4
gehate	uoto	52r/10	290, I.24	234/29
gehatum	p(ro)missis	4r/3	76, I.26	62/12
heo	illi	1v/11	68, I.23	54/32
heo	illi	1v/13	68, I.23	56/2
hyrsumodon	obediaba(n)t	1v/11	68, I.23	54/32
hyrsumodon	\ obte(m)p(er)aba(n)t //	1v/11	68, I.23	54/32
in	in	1v/21	68, I.23	56/9
in fruman	i(n)itio	58v/9	80, I.27	64/22
in gemænum	co(mmun)e	58v/23	82, I.27	66/ 8
inbryrdnesse	i(n)spiratio	1v/6	68, I.23	54/28
gelaðode	co(n)uocarit	6v/23	134, II.1	98/14
lareowas	doctores	6v/7	134, II.1	98/2

OE word	Latin Gloss	T	*HE*	*OEHE*
leafnisse	lice(n)tia'	3v/24	76, I.26	62/8
geleafsumra	fides	58r/16	80, I.27	64/7
liccetende	simulata'	16r/2	164, II.9	122/17
lond leode	insulani	6r/9	132, II.1	96/15
lustfullian	delectas	4r/2	76, I.26	62/11
mægð	p(ro)ui(n)cia	6r/21	134, II.1	96/25
gemænsum	co(m)munione	60v/9	84, I.27	70/31
gemænsuman	co(mmun)icare	3r/8	74, I.25	60/7
mildheortnesse	misericorda'	6r/25	134, II.1	96/29
gemynd-gedan	memorat'	1v/11–12	68, I.23	56/1
ne	dato	2r/1	I.23–25	56/14
nedþearfnis	necessitate	7r/26	136, II.2	100/5–6
nehstan	erasure	7r/25	136, II.2	100/5
nu gen	n(un)c	58v/7	80, I.27	64/21
nydde	coge(ret)	4r/11	76, I.26	62/18
ongunnon	c(o)epissent	1v/12	68, I.23	56/1
ondlifenes	stipe(n)diu'	58r/25	80, I.27	64/15
ondlifne	stipendiu'	58v/18	80, I.27	66/3
onhyrgan	imitar'	3v/5	76, I.26	60/23
onsyne	facies	6r/8	132, II.1	96/14
onsyne	facies	6r/18	134, II.1	96/23
reohtre	iusta	7r/26	136, II.2	100/5
gereorde	linguam	1v/17	68, I.23	56/5
geriht	corrigi	59r/24	82, I.27	68/2
sceawunge	co(n)siderat(ione)m	60v/14	84, I.27	72/2
segnunge	minist(er)io	7r/25	136, II.2	100/5
sellað	tr†ad†ere	58r/24	80, I.27	64/15
gesette	fecit	7r/13–14	136, II.2	98/26
siðfæt	iter	1v/21	68, I.23	56/9
singalum	?	3v/5	76, I.26	60/23
somnian	conuenire	3v/22	76, I.26	62/6
sumne dæl	aliqu(an)tulu'	1v/11	68, I.23	56/1
swa	ta'	1v/21	68, I.23	56/9
geswip\p/re	astuto	16r/2	164, II.9	122/16
synderlice	specialit'	58r/20	80, I.27	64/11
þafian	assencis	3r/4	74, I.25	60/3
geþafian	co(n)se(n)tis	7r/10	136, II.2	98/23
þearfe	necessaris'	58v/17	80, I.27	66/3
þeode	genti	1v/10	68, I.23	54/32

OE word	Latin Gloss	T	*HE*	*OEHE*
þeode	genite	6r/6	132, II.1	96/12
þorfte	debere	1v/21	68, I.23	56/10
getreowde	co(n)fisos	1v/25	68, I.23	56/12
getrymedan	firmau(eru)nt	4r/3	76, I.26	62/12
trymede	exhortas	1v/23	68, I.23	56/11
tydde	hortaba'	58r/22	80, I.27	64/12
uncuðe	inc(er)tam	1v/22	68, I.23	56/10
ungeleaf suman	incredula'	1v/16	68, I.23	56/4–5
ungerecce	i(n)p(er)et'	16r/10	164, II.9	122/24
unsceð | þendan	i(n)noce(n)cia	3v/15	76, I.26	62/1
weorce	opus	1v/12	68, I.23	56/1
wiisan	res	59r/16	82, I.27	66/24
wiite	pena	59r/21	82, I.27	66/28
gewinfulne	laborosa'	1v/22	68, I.23	56/9
gewunode	solet	36v/23	252, III.13	188/30
wyrcnis	op(er)atio	7r/20	136, II.2	100/1
ymb	apu(t)	1r/23	68, I.23	54/21

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